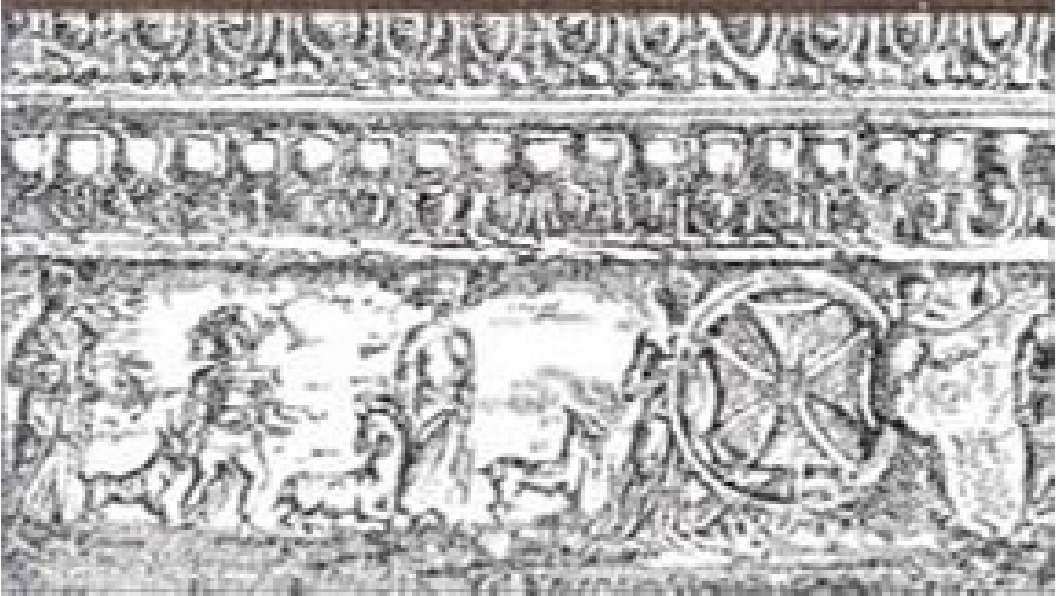
Poet and Audience in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius

Robert V. Albis



Poet and Audience in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius

Greek Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches

General Editor: Gregory Nagy, Harvard University

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ROBERT V. ALBIS

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, INC.
Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, INC.

Published in the United States of America
by Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
4720 Boston Way, Lanham, Maryland 20706

3 Henrietta Street
London WC2E 8LU, England

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British Cataloging in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Albis, Robert V.
Poet and audience in the Argonautica of Apollonius / Robert V. Albis.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 0-8476-8315-X (cloth :alk. paper). — ISBN 0-8476-8316-8 (pbk. : alk. paper)
1. Apollonius, Rhodius. Argonautica. 2. Epic poetry, Greek—History and criticism. 3. Argonauts (Greek mythology) in literature. 4. Jason (Greek mythology) in literature. 5. Medea (Greek mythology) in literature. 6. Authors and readers—Greece. 7. Reader-response criticism. I. Title.
PA3872.Z4A43 1996
883'.01—dc20 96-23857
CIP

ISBN 0–8476–8315–X (cloth : alk. paper)
ISBN 0–8476–8316–8 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Printed in the United States of America

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1984.

To the memory of Francis Joseph Albis

omnis curae casusque levamen amitto

Aeneid 3.709-710

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Foreword

by Gregory Nagy, General Editor

Building on the foundations of scholarship within the disciplines of philology, philosophy, history, and archaeology, this series spans the continuum of Greek traditions extending from the second millennium B.C.E. to the present, not just the Archaic and Classical periods. The aim is to enhance perspectives by applying various disciplines to problems that have in the past been treated as the exclusive concern of a single given discipline. Besides the crossing-over of the older disciplines, as in the case of historical and literary studies, the series encourages the application of such newer ones as linguistics, sociology, anthropology, and comparative literature. It also encourages encounters with current trends in methodology, especially in the realm of literary theory.

Poet and Audience in the Argonautica *of Apollonius*, by Robert V. Albis, is a forceful reassessment of Apollonius of Rhodes, revealing him as a vital continuator of both the Classical and Archaic poetic traditions of ancient Greece. This view of Apollonius and his *Argonautica* stands in sharp contrast to the stereotypical image of a hopelessly derivative Hellenistic poet, whose highest artistic ambition is realized by showing off his prodigious learning in bygone traditions extracted from a poetic past that had long since disinherited the poets of the present. The implications of the arguments advanced in *Poet and Audience* extend from Apollonius to Hellenistic poetry in general: Albis views the poetics of Apollonius and his contemporaries as a dynamic reenactment of what they conceived to be the archetypal essence of Greek poetic heritage writ large.

This book shows that allusion in Apollonius is far more than playful cross-reference: it becomes a dead-serious act of communication with the ideals of the poetic past. When Apollonius alludes to Homer, he is evoking the archetypal image of the Singer of

Tales, as envisaged in those most striking figures of Homeric self-reference, Phemios and Demodokos. Taking at his word the poet's profession of his artistic mandate, Albis argues that the god Apollo is viewed by his namesake Apollonius as a key to the entire poetic undertaking of the *Argonautica*—as also to the quest of the Argonauts who sail the *Argo*. To invoke Apollo in the *Argonautica* is no mere literary convention: it is to activate the god of poetry, of prophecy, of the mental orientation realized by the voyage of the *Argo* and inaugurated by the cosmogonic song of the god's very own mythical singer, Orpheus. The invoked agency of Apollo is meant to create or re-create the poetic continuum that links the archetypal Orpheus to the contemporary Apollonius.

Poet and Audience in the Argonautica *of Apollonius* invokes in its own right many insights that stem from comparative literary studies, most notably narratology and theories of reader-response (or, better, audience-response). But the basis for argumentation throughout the book remains, ultimately, the poetic language and text of Apollonius. What especially distinguishes the work of Albis is the cohesive precision of his overall reading. Unlike most other readings of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, this book appreciates the poem as a unified work of art.

Preface

Many friends and colleagues have examined this study on the *Argonautica* in its various stages of completion, and all deserve my heartfelt gratitude. My first thanks go to Gordon Williams, not only for his help in this project, but for all that he taught me while I was an undergraduate and a graduate student at Yale University. Similarly, I am greatly indebted to Richard Garner, who taught me much over several years and was invaluable to me as I worked on this book. Next I would like to thank Judith Barringer and John Dugan, who have provided me with many helpful suggestions and encouragement regarding this project for close to ten years now. I would also like to thank Patricia Rosenmeyer, who helped me make some of the arguments in this book stronger.

Gregory Nagy is the person most responsible for numerous improvements I made while preparing my work on Apollonius for this series. He offered me the kindest support for my ideas, and his many suggestions and careful critique of my manuscript helped me strengthen many of my arguments and prevented me from making more than a few errors. Any that remain are, of course, my own. I would also like to thank the Hotchkiss School for generous financial assistance that helped make the publication of this book possible. Finally, my deepest thanks go to my wife, Mary. She not only helped me with the tedious chores associated with preparing a manuscript for publication, but also has always given me unwavering support for all of my endeavors.

When quoting the *Argonautica*, I have mainly referred to the Budé edition of Francis Vian. Occasionally I adopt the readings of Hermann Fränkel's 1961 Oxford edition, and have noted where I have done so. All citations of Apollonian scholia refer to the 1958 edition of Charles Wendel. Citations to Callimachus refer to the 1949 Oxford edition of Rudolph Pfeiffer. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own,

although for Apollonian passages I have sometimes borrowed a word or phrase from R. C. Seaton's 1912 Loeb edition or from the translation of Barbara Fowler in her *Hellenistic Poetry: An Anthology*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1990. Journal abbreviations are taken from those used by *L' Année Philologique*. Books in the footnotes are referred to by author and date of publication, except for the following commentaries on Apollonius, which are referred to by the following abbreviations:

Fränkel	Hermann Fränkel, *Noten zu den* Argonautika *des Apollonios Rhodios*, C. H. Beck'sche, Munich, 1968.
Livrea	Enrico Livrea, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon Liber Quartus*, La Nuova Italia, Florence, 1973.
Vian 1	Francis Vian, *Apollonios de Rhodes: Argonautiques, Tome 1, Chants 1-2*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1976.
Vian 2	*Apollonios de Rhodes: Argonautiques, Tome 2, Chant 3*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1980.
Vian 3	*Apollonios de Rhodes: Argonautiques, Tome 3, Chant 4*, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1981.

Some standard abbreviations that I have used are:

FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Brill, Leiden, 1923-1968.
FHG	C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Ambrosio Firmin Didot, Paris, 1841-1870.
LSJ	H. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1940.
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1962.

The Index Locorum cites passages from ancient authors that are discussed in the text; it does not generally list those works cited merely to give parallels to Apollonius' diction or choice of lexicon.

1

Apollonius, Inspiration, and the Performance of Epic

"Apollonius in his *Argonautica* is a faultless poet, . . . but wouldn't you rather be Homer than Apollonius?" Such is the reserved praise for Apollonius Rhodius expressed by the ancient critic whom we call Longinus (*On the Sublime* 33.4).[1] Longinus is the first in a long line of critics who seem able to judge Apollonius only against the standard of Homer. Consequently, for a long time Apollonius did not fare well with scholars, most of whom criticized the Alexandrian poet for his failure to compose poetry like Homer's. Recently, however, critics have recognized that the *Argonautica* is not a failed emulation of Homeric epic but, rather, a deliberate innovation on the epic tradition. It is gratifying to see this poet receive recognition for his own merits; the flood of scholarship on Apollonius within the last decade or so has perhaps finally fulfilled the wish expressed by the poet himself, at the end of his epic that his verses "become sweeter for men from year to year" (4.1773-1775).

One tendency of the newer scholarship on Apollonius that is perhaps less welcome is that it often considers the *Argonautica* so innovative as to be completely estranged from the previous epic tradition; some scholars even interpret the *Argonautica* as a rejection of the epic genre.[2] This propensity is part of a more fundamental predilection for considering Hellenistic poetry as a whole to be a radical departure from the poetic traditions of Archaic and Classical Greece, more akin to Roman poetry than earlier Greek poetry. This view, in turn, seems based on the belief that whereas poetry reached its audience in the earlier stages of Greek society primarily through

1. From now on, we will simply refer to the author of *On the Sublime* by his traditional appellation.

2. As in DeForest 1994.

live performance, Hellenistic verse reached its audience primarily through the medium of the written word.

This idea is, indeed, a commonplace of the histories of Greek literature.[3] As internal evidence for this view, one may point to the many self-conscious references to writing in Alexandrian poetry. Callimachus, for example, describes a moment of divine inspiration in a scene where Apollo makes an epiphany to him as he sits with his writing tablet on his knees (*Aetia* fr. 1.21-22).[4] A preoccupation with the medium of the written text can be clearly seen in a genre popular during this period: technopaegnia, poems whose arrangement of lines visually represents the shape of the poetry's subject matter. Poetry such as this does indeed seem part of a world much different from the one that produced Archaic and Classical Greek poetry, when live performance was the primary medium by which poets reached their audiences.

However, the passing of the Classical Era did not witness the death of live performances of poetry, or even the demise of poetry composed at the moment of performance. Sources from as late as the Roman Era describe poets capable of composition that could be called improvisational in that it accommodated the wishes of the audience.[5] Strabo (14.5.15) reports that Diogenes of Tarsus, who dates from the second century B.C., composed tragic verses extemporaneously, based on subjects supplied to him by his audience. Strabo also speaks of another Tarsian, Boethus, who was raised to prominence by Mark Antony in recognition of his skill at spontaneously producing poetry (14.5.14).[6] Strabo adds that this facility was common among the Tarsian poets. We know from Cicero that in the first century B.C., Antipater of Sidon composed extemporaneously, sometimes in hexameters (*De Oratore* 3.194), and that Archias of Antioch was also capable of impromptu composition (*Pro Archia* 18). The improvised poems of Antipater and Archias seem to have been of considerable length, not merely short epigrams. Cicero uses the verb "fundere" to describe Antipater's production of verse, a word that implies a

3. Lesky 1963.700; Bulloch 1989.3.

4. Many more such passages are well discussed by Bing 1988.15-35. Also see DeForest 1994.1-17, with special attention to Apollonius.

5. These poets probably relied on stock phrases and themes, not too differently from the way earlier oral poets had composed. On the importance of such "chunks" of information for improvisation, even in modern Western culture, see Miller 1982.5-8.

6. It should perhaps be noted that Strabo calls Boethus "a bad citizen and a bad poet."

formidable stream of verses,[7] and the detail that he sometimes composed in hexameters suggests these poems may have had epic pretensions. Of Archias, Cicero explicitly says that his spontaneous production of verse was of considerable length: "Quotiens ego hunc vidi, cum litteram scripssiset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis ipsis rebus, quae tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore" [How many times have I seen him, although he had not written a word, extemporaneously speak a great number of excellent verses about those very things that were going on at the moment].[8] Improvisational poets were also active under the empire; in the next century, epigraphic evidence indicates that fifty-two poets competed in a contest of improvisational poetry at Rome.[9]

There is no such evidence for poetry being extemporaneously composed and performed on such a large scale during Apollonius' own era, the third century B.C. It is, however, difficult to imagine that poets of this time were incapable of such composition, especially at the Museum in Alexandria, where many of the best were assembled. An epitaph Callimachus composed for himself implies that he did indeed indulge in this sort of composition: Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας, εὖ μὲν ἀοιδὴν / εἰδότος, εὖ δ' οἴνῳ καίρια συγγελάσαι [This is the tomb of Battiades you are stepping past, one who knew well how to make a poem, and also how to laugh with improvisations over wine] (*Epigram* 35). Καίρος is a word regularly used by Hellenistic times in connection with poetry or oratory composed extemporaneously to fit an immediate occasion.[10] This use is anticipated much earlier in the epinicians of Pindar, who often uses the word to refer to the appropriateness of his poems for celebrating the occasion of his patron's athletic victories (*Olympian* 13.48; *Pythian* 1.81, 9.78, 10.4; *Nemean* 1.18). Here in Callimachus' epigram, καίρια refer to improvisations, dashed off in a sympotic setting as a source of amusement, which Callimachus contrasts with his serious, and

7. Hardie 1983.82. Hardie gives a useful survey of improvisational composition on pp. 76-85.

8. Cicero's next comments imply, however, that the poetry Archias carefully worked out with stylus and tablet was of better quality: "Quae vero accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem perveniret" [The things that he had actually written with care and thought I have seen received so well that he achieved the same degree of praise as the ancient authors].

9. Hardie 1983.83.

10. Ibid.78.

carefully elaborated, poetry.[11]

Of course, such light-hearted composition over cups is a far cry from the poetic performances that had dominated Greek religious and social occasions in an earlier age. In Archaic and Classical times, most types of poetry were generated in response to, and as part of, specific occasions: epinicians celebrated particular athletic victories, hymns formed part of religious festivals, dramatic productions contributed to the worship of Dionysus at Athens, and various sorts of lyric poetry accompanied a wide range of social occasions. In certain cases, such as the dramatic festivals at Athens, these events were closely tied in with the life of the polis. For the later poets, many of the social and political structures that had provided the context for such occasions no longer existed, having been superseded by the Hellenistic kingdoms.[12] Thus, the authority once lent to a poet's performance by the religious festival in which he took part was for the most part no longer available to the Alexandrians.[13]

If Alexandrian poets display an awareness of writing as a medium for the transmission of their work, they also betray a longing for the social contexts of past times that had supported public performances of poetry. Indeed, the place in which many of them produced their verses, the Museum at Alexandria, may itself be symptomatic of this yearning for the past. As Gregory Nagy explains,

> The era of the great Library of Alexandria reflects a link between our new world of philology and the old world of the actual words . . . that are studied in philology. Those who presided over the words, as texts, were the Muses of *performance* [italics Nagy's]: the very name of the Library of Alexandria was after all the Museum, the place of the Muses. . . . One might say that the Museum itself was a formalization of the nostalgia for the glory days when the Muses supposedly inspired the competitive performance of a poet.[14]

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11. Ibid.85; cf. Reitzenstein 1893.87: "οἴνῳ συγγελάσαι muss für den terminus technicus παίζειν stehen, der ἀοιδή ist entgegengesetzt das παίγνιον." Callimachus' opposition of his καίρια to his ἀοιδή resembles Cicero's comparison of the verses Archias produced "ex tempore" and those he wrote "accurate cogitateque."

12. However, the estrangement of poetry from its social context can already be detected as early as the fifth century. See Nagy 1990a.407-410.

13. This problem was felt even more acutely by the Roman successors to the Greek poetic tradition. See G. Williams 1968.33-37.

14. Nagy 1992.18-19.

We can see in the poetry itself of these denizens of the Museum an attempt to recreate poetic performances. Consider the pastoral figures throughout Theocritus' *Idylls* who engage in poetic competitions, or Theocritus' presentation of the hymn to Adonis within a framework describing the festival of Adonis in Alexandria (*Idyll* 15). Callimachus' *Hymns* regularly recreate the setting of a deity's festival before beginning a narrative about that god. As Mary Depew has argued for Callimachus' iambic poetry, the Hellenistic poet was challenged to compensate for the lack of actual social context by recreating it, in an artificial way, within the poetry itself.[15]

Apollonius, too, faced the challenge of building context into the text of the *Argonautica*. His task was not as clearly defined as it would have been for a poet writing in a different genre, since epic is not as closely tied to specific events as is, for example, an epinician.[16] Unlike Pindar, who often refers to the performance of his poetry, the narrator in the Homeric epics seldom refers to his own activity. An exception to this general rule is when the poet addresses his Muse, about which we will have much more to say shortly. The poems of the Epic Cycle, at least originally, may have contained more references to the conditions under which they were performed because they seem to have been more closely tied to local cults of the heroes and, therefore, to the ritual life of individual poleis.[17] Certainly these poems were an important source for the *Argonautica*, as they described mythological figures in the Argonaut myth not found in Homer and contained a large element of the fantastic, a prominent feature of the *Argonautica* that is mostly absent from the Homeric epics.[18] Unfortunately, the

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15. Depew 1992.

16. A characteristic that led to the early Panhellenization of the Homeric epics. Not closely associated with any one locale, they were more readily accepted throughout the Greek world. Nagy 1990a.52-81.

17. For example, the *Cypria* may be so named because Stasinus, the poet to whom it was sometimes attributed, was Cypriot. Similarly, the *Naupactica* took its name from Naupactus on the Corinthian Gulf. See Davies 1989.39. For the relation of the *Aithiopis* to local traditions of Miletus, see Nagy 1990a.70-72.

18. Some examples (fragment numbers for the Epic Cycle refer to the 1988 edition of Davies): The birth of the centaur Chiron described at *Argonautica* 2.1232-1241 was also found in the *Titomachia* (F 9), which epic also described the apples of the Hesperides (F 10; cf. *Argonautica* 4.1396-1451). The *Thebaid*'s Argive Amphiaraus, a seer who embarks on an expedition knowing it will result in his death (F 7; cf. Davies 1989.28-29), has much in common with Apollonius' Idmon, another prophet from Argos who knows his participation in a heroic adventure will end his life (*Argonautica* 1.139). The Argonaut

prose summary of Proclus and the miserable fragments that survive of the poems themselves offer little indication of whether or not they provided Apollonius with models for giving his epic social context.

What we can say about epic is that it was publicly performed by poets or rhapsodes[19] in front of an audience and, at least sometimes, as part of a religious festival.[20] One detail about these performances has come down to us and is, in fact, recreated in the *Argonautica*. From ancient sources, it is clear that performers of epic often prefaced their delivery of the epic narrative with a hymn, such as those collected under the title of the *Homeric Hymns*.[21] This is the implication of Thucydides' use of the term προοίμιον, "preface," to refer to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (3.104).[22] The endings of some of these hymns, where the poet declares he will now shift to another song, also indicate their original function as a preface to the performance of another poem.[23] The function of a hymn as a preface to a performance of Homer is also indicated in Pindar's *Nemean* 2.1-3, which starts by saying that the Homeridae, rhapsodes belonging to a guild devoted to the performance of Homer, usually began their performances with a preface devoted to Zeus: Ὁμηρίδαι ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' ἀοιδοὶ ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου [from the point where the Homeridae, singers of stitched-together words, most often begin, from the proem of Zeus]. Pindar begins his ode as if a proem has already been delivered and he is now making the transition to the main part of his composition.[24] In describing the proem of a performance of Homer, Pindar appropriates the language used in such proems: ἄρχονται echoes language used in the *Homeric Hymns*, many of which begin with a phrase such as Δήμητρ' ἠύκομον σεμνὴν θεὰν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν

Lynceus' keen eyesight also figured in the *Cypria* (F 13). Medea's magical skills somehow figured in the *Nostoi*, which described her rejuvenation of Aeson (F 6).

19. At least in archaic times, the roles of poets who performed their own works and rhapsodes who performed others' poetry seem to have overlapped. Cf. Gentili 1983.33-34. Also see the extensive discussion in Nagy 1996, especially 59-86.

20. Nagy 1990a.21-22; Taplin 1992.39-41. For ancient testimony on recitations of Homer as part of the Panathenaea at Athens, see Allen 1924.226-227.

21. See Richardson 1974.3-4; Nagy 1990a.353-354.

22. For a discussion of the word προοίμιον, see Koller 1956.187-195.

23. Cf. Ibid.174-182. In some cases, these "proems" were composed as poems in their own right, though still retaining language proper to their original function as preludes. Such is probably the case with the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. See Nagy 1989.53-54 and 1990a.353-360.

24. Nagy 1990a.356-357; cf. Nagy 1996.62-63.

(*Homeric Hymn* 2.1) or Παλλάδ' 'Αθηναίην ἐρυσίπτολιν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν (*Homeric Hymn* 11.1).

Even a casual glance at the opening of the *Argonautica* reveals that Apollonius, too, mimics the language of hymns in his invocation.[25]

> 'Αρχόμενος σέο Φοῖβε παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν
> μνήσομαι οἳ Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα καὶ διὰ πέτρας
> Κυανέας βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνῃ Πελίαο
> χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν 'Αργώ.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.1-4
>
> [Taking my start from you, Phoebus, I will tell the deeds of ancient men who, on the bidding of King Pelias, sped the well-benched Argo down the mouth of Pontus, through the Cyanean Rocks, in search of the golden fleece.]

Apollonius briefly pays homage to Apollo before getting to the subject of the poem: the voyage of the *Argo*. This is a departure from the texts of other ancient epics as we have them, which immediately name their subject. The *Iliad*, about the wrath of Achilles, begins with μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά [Sing the wrath, goddess]. The *Odyssey*, about the man Odysseus, begins with ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα [Tell me of the man, Muse].[26] Of the poems from the Epic Cycle, the *Little Iliad* began with Ἴλιον ἀείδω καὶ Δαρδανίην εὔπωλον (F1) [I sing of Ilium and Dardania, rich in horses], the *Thebaid*, with Ἄργος ἄειδε θεὰ πολυδίψιον ἔνθεν ἄνακτες (F1) [Sing, goddess, of parched Argos, from where the leaders . . .], the *Epigonoi*, with νῦν αὐθ' ὁπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεσθα (F1) [Now let us begin again, Muses, with the story of younger men].[27]

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25. De Marco 1963.351-352; cf. Bundy 1972.58; Clauss 1993.16; DeForest 1994.37. For further discussion of hymnic elements in the *Argonautica*, see Beye 1982.14. Boesch 1908.3 and Ardizzoni 1967.99 believe that Apollonius modeled his proem on a specific hymn, the *Hymn to Selene* (*Homeric Hymn* 32). While the similarities are striking, it is also possible that the author of this little poem imitated Apollonius' great work. The hymn, which begins with a clever pun on the opening of the *Iliad*, seems to be a Hellenistic composition and so may well have been composed later than the *Argonautica*. Cf. Allen, Halliday, and Sikes 1963.434-435; Cassola 1975.447, 588-589.

26. On the Iliadic proem, see Kirk 1985.51-53; on the Odyssean proem, see Heubeck 1988.67-69; for a comparison of the two, see Woodhouse 1969.22-38 and Pucci 1982.

27. Of the Cyclic poems, the *Thebaid* bears the greatest resemblance to the *Argonautica*. As Davies 1989.24 notes, the *Thebaid*'s opening fails to encapsulate the main theme of the epic, the attack on Thebes, but concentrates on the geographic location where the action begins. Similarly, Apollonius begins by concentrating on the oracle of Apollo which had motivated the quest for the golden fleece. Cf. pp. 25-26 below.

Apollonius, by delaying his subject and invoking Apollo first, recreates the sequence of a performance of epic in which a hymn precedes the narrative proper. What had earlier been part of the context of a performance of epic, separate from the narrative proper, appears as a structural element in Apollonius' text. The *Argonautica* presents itself not just as a text of an epic poem but as the equivalent of an epic poem as performed in its appropriate context. Apollonius' hymnic proem can be viewed as compensation for the loss of the social context in which epic had once been performed. The insertion of the hymnic proem does not, however, necessarily indicate a compensation for the loss of the medium of live performance; even if Apollonius performed his work, this performance would lack the ritual associations and authority possessed by performers of an earlier age, such as the Homeridae performing Homer at a religious festival. The authority granted by the invocation to Apollo would serve a live performance of the *Argonautica* as much as it does a written text.[28]

Apollonius' adaptation of a hymn's opening is only the most obvious example of his recreation of an epic performance's context — a recreation that pervades the *Argonautica*. As in the invocation to Apollo, Apollonius' recreation of the context of performance most often depends on his manipulation of the theme of divine inspiration. The close connection of inspiration and performance is grounded in a very early stage of Greek culture, when poetry and, most importantly for us, epic were orally composed as well as orally performed, that is, when the moment of compositon *was* the performance.[29] Inspiration is most naturally associated with the live performance of poetry, since the performer must produce his poetry without any visible assistance, and without faltering. As Penelope Murray explains,

> Composition . . . does not depend on flashes of inspiration which mysteriously provide ideas or phrases to the poet, but on a steady flow of words. The oral poet is both composer and performer: he needs not only memory and command of technique, but also fluency and confidence or 'presence' as a performer. What must therefore be emphasized is that inspiration in oral epic poetry is inextricably connected with performance.[30]

In one of the earliest descriptions we possess of a performance of

28. On the authority bestowed by invocations, see p. 10 below; on the authority of the Homeridae, see Nagy 1990a.22-23, 73-74.

29. Lord 1964.13.

30. Murray 1981.95.

poetry, *Odyssey* 8's portrayal of Demodocus performing at the court of the Phaeacian king Alcinous, we can see the close connection between performance and inspiration. With a clear reference to the bard's inspiring deity, Homer describes Demodocus responding to Odysseus' request and beginning a song on the Trojan Horse: ὁ δ' ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἄρχετο, φαῖνε δ' ἀοιδήν [inspired by the god he began, and showed his song] (*Odyssey* 8.499).[31]

Even much later in the history of Greek literature, when poetry was no longer orally composed, inspiration was still associated with performance.[32] When a poet invokes his Muse, he creates the impression that he is just then embarking on the process of composition, since divine inspiration is conventionally a necessary prerequisite for starting a poem. Performers active in literate societies, where writing is considered the ordinary means for poetic composition and the medium of transmission, are especially likely to be considered recipients of divine assistance. Such is the case in Strabo's description of Diogenes of Tarsus.[33] An invocation gives an air of immediacy even to a piece of laboriously composed, carefully elaborated, and frequently reworked poetry.

Apollonius certainly lived in an era when many poets, even if they might perform their work before an audience, nevertheless carefully composed it beforehand by means of writing. Indeed, we have ancient testimony that the *Argonautica* underwent a good deal of editing; the biographical tradition reports that the poem orginally met with failure in Alexandria but later won acclaim after Apollonius had reworked it. The scholia also offer textual variants for several passages in Book 1 that they attribute to the προέκδοσις, or "preliminary edition."[34] The scholia and especially the ancient biographical traditions are notoriously unreliable,[35] yet there is no reason to doubt that they reflect a general truth about much poetic composition at this time, that it was carefully reworked and edited. Callimachus' *Aetia* offers internal evidence that it underwent at least two stages of composition.[36] Poets

31. The translation of this line is problematic; cf. p. 18 below.

32. Murray 1981.95.

33. The success of improvisational poets in eighteenth-century Italy was also attributed to divine inspiration. See Gentili 1988.11-12.

34. 1.285-286a, 516-523d, 543, 725, 788-789a, 801-803b. On the tradition that Apollonius produced two editions of the *Argonautica*, see Wendel 1958.2-3; Fränkel 1964.7-11; Vian 1.xxi-xxiv; Haslam 1978.61-67.

35. See Lefkowitz 1981.

36. See Parsons 1977.49-50.

of this period also make references to the labor necessary to produce suitable verses. In Theocritus, the goatherd-poet Simichidas refers to his composition of a rustic poem with the verb ἐκπονέω, "to work out to perfection" (7.51). Callimachus praises Aratus' poetry by stating that Aratus' delicate verses are evidence of his sleepless nights, presumably spent in laborious composition (*Epigram* 27).

However, within the text of Apollonius' carefully edited *Argonautica*, the theme of divine inspiration creates a fiction that his studied poetry is composed spontaneously and that this composition constitutes a performance. The idea of performance is intimated because an invocation acknowledges the presence of an audience: a poet invokes his deity not just for assistance but to grant authority to his performance so that his audience should accept it.[37] An invocation is, in fact, the poet's acknowledgment of his responsibility to his audience. Jesper Svenbro takes this connection between Muse and audience further and argues that the poet's relationship to his Muse and to his audience are very closely allied; the poet is subordinate to both Muse and audience, and he requires the favor of both for a successful performance.[38] The Muse ensures that the poet's song will satisfy the audience, which will then reward the poet for performing poetry acceptable to them. This is precisely the model represented by Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8; Odysseus requests Demodocus to sing of the Trojan Horse because Demodocus seems to have the favor of the Muses or Apollo. Indeed, Odysseus states that he honors the bard highly for this reason. Provided that Demodocus sings accurately about the Trojan Horse, Odysseus promises to announce to everyone that the poet enjoys the favor of the gods (8.487-498).

Clearly Odysseus seems most impressed by Demodocus because the bard displays an accurate knowledge of what happened at Troy, although he was not there himself:

> Δημόδοκ', ἔξοχα δή σε βροτῶν αἰνίζομ' ἁπάντων·
> ἢ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς πάϊς, ἢ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων.
> λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον ἀείδεις,
> ὅσσ' ἔρξαν τ' ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί,
> ὥς τέ που ἢ αὐτὸς παρεὼν ἢ ἄλλου ἀκούσας.
>
> *Odyssey* 8.487-491

37. Murray 1981.89-90.
38. Svenbro 1984.34-48.

> [Demodocus, beyond all mortals do I praise you: Surely the Muse, Zeus' daughter, or else Apollo, taught you, since you sing of the Achaeans' fate correctly, all that the Achaeans did and endured and what they suffered, as if perhaps you were present there yourself or heard these things from someone else who was.]

Demodocus typifies early Greek poets, who claim to be dependent on the Muses for receiving true information.[39] Thus appeals to the Muses are requests for information and often precede material that is difficult for a human to handle, either because it involves knowledge unobtainable by mere mortals or because of its size and complexity. For example, the most elaborate invocation of the Homeric epics occurs before the most complicated and extensive collection of "facts" in the poems, the catalogue of ships in *Iliad* 2. Demodocus seems to have actually been at Troy because he knows with such precision what happened there; this knowledge is the gift of divine inspiration.

In this respect, inspired poet and divine prophet were very similar in Greek society, and at one time the two vocations may have been indistinguishable.[40] Hesiod, when describing the abilities given to him by the Muses, uses the same language that Homer employs to describe the powers of the seer Calchas; both Hesiod and Calchas are able to tell of things from the past and future: τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα (*Theogony* 32; *Iliad* 1.70). As M. L. West explains,

> In the absence of written records, the ability to see into the distant past is no less marvellous than the ability to see into the future, and there is no room for a sharp distinction between the two. Neither is possible without divine revelation, for only gods have the necessary first-hand knowledge. [41]

The affinity between poetry and prophecy is fully exploited by Pindar, who often uses the vocabulary of prophecy to describe his poetic activity, as in fr. 137 (Maehler): μαντεύο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ [Give your oracle, Muse, and I will interpret it].[42] For Pindar, the connection between poetry and prophecy often depends on the figure of Apollo, a god who has strong connections to both activities. As we shall see, Apollonius also takes full advantage of Apollo's dual role as patron of both poets and seers.

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39. Dodds 1951.80-81; Murray 1981.90-92; Lloyd 1987.

40. Dodds 1951.81; Nagy 1989.35-36.

41. West 1966 on *Theogony* 32.

42. For similar expressions, see Duchemin 1955.32-36 and, more generally, 21-53. See also Garner 1992.45-67.

Certain fifth-century philosophers turned their attention to the divine inspiration of poets and prophets and declared that both experience ἐνθουσιασμός, the state of becoming ἔνθεος, "possessed by a god."[43] The earliest writer we know to have mentioned this is Democritus (frr. 18, 21 Diels), but the most extensive accounts occur in the works of Plato. In the *Ion*, divine possession is said to be absolutely necessary for successful poetic composition:

> κοῦφον γὰρ χρῆμα ποιητής ἐστι καὶ πτηνὸν καὶ ἱερόν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον οἷός τε ποιεῖν, πρὶν ἂν ἔνθεός τε γένηται καὶ ἔκφρων καὶ ὁ νοῦς μηκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνῇ· ἕως δ' ἂν τουτὶ ἔχῃ τὸ κτῆμα, ἀδύνατος πᾶς ποιεῖν ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος καὶ χρησμῳδεῖν.
>
> *Ion* 534b
>
> [For a poet is a light and winged and sacred thing and is unable ever to compose until he has been inspired and put out of his senses and his mind is no longer in him; every man, while he retains possession of that, is powerless to compose a verse or chant an oracle.][44]

In order to compose poetry, the poet must lose some of his identity, must be no longer in control of his own wits. Similar language occurs at *Laws* 719c: ποιητής, ὁπόταν ἐν τῷ τρίποδι τῆς Μούσης καθίζηται, τότε οὐκ ἔμφρων ἐστίν [a poet, whenever he sits on the tripod of the Muse, is not at that time in control of his senses].[45] The poet, according to Plato, is simply a mouthpiece for the Muses. This idea may be behind the appellation common in archaic poetry of the poet as θεράπων Μουσάων (*Theogony* 100; Theognis 1.769; *Homeric Hymn* 3.157; cf. the archaizing *Homeric Hymn* 32.20). Gregory Nagy argues that the Greek word θεράπων, borrowed from Anatolia during prehistoric times, sometimes retains its early meaning of "ritual substitute." The θεράπων Μουσάων, therefore, is someone who assumes the role of the Muses, embodies the deities, and in so doing temporarily forfeits his

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43. Dodds 1951.2. Murray 1981.87-89 notes that the idea of "poetic madness" seems to have originated in the fifth century.

44. All translations of the *Ion* are adapted from that of Lamb 1925.

45. Note that both passages continue the archaic association between poet and prophet, the first in using the word χρησμῳδεῖν, the second with the image of sitting on a tripod, an activity normally associated with the priestess of Apollo at Delphi. Longinus (13.2) uses the same tripod imagery to describe inspiration. The connection between poetry and prophecy, and in particular between poetry and the Delphic oracle, is discussed at length in the following chapter.

own identity.[46]

Later in the Greek tradition, we find references to poets assuming the identity not only of their inspiring deities but also of the characters in their poems.[47] The poet seems to have been a part of the event he relates not so much because he conveys information that appears accurate but because he is able to identify closely with the experiences of his characters and feel their emotions for himself. The most extensive description of the empathy a poet or performer of poetry feels for his characters comes again from Plato's *Ion*, which is also the earliest account of this phenomenon.[48] Ion is a rhapsode, not an actual poet, yet the distinction between poet and rhapsode was often vague, and in this dialogue Plato regards both in the same way.[49] According to Plato's scheme of inspiration, a rhapsode performing another's poetry is not doing anything essentially different from a poet performing his own work; both are entirely dependent on the Muses. Socrates asks Ion if, when he performs well, he feels the same emotions as the characters of the Homeric poems he recites:

> ὅταν εὖ εἴπῃς ἔπη καὶ ἐκπλήξῃς μάλιστα τοὺς θεωμένους, ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸν οὐδὸν ἐφαλλόμενον ᾄδῃς, ἐκφανῆ γιγνόμενον τοῖς μνηστῆρσι καὶ ἐκχέοντα τοὺς οἰστοὺς πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν, ἢ Ἀχιλλέα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα ὁρμῶντα, ἢ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀνδρομάχην ἐλεινῶν τι ἢ περὶ Ἑκάβην ἢ περὶ Πρίαμον, τότε πότερον ἔμφρων εἶ, ἢ ἔξω σαυτοῦ γίγνῃ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πράγμασιν οἴεταί σου εἶναι ἡ ψυχὴ οἷς λέγεις ἐνθουσιάζουσα, ἢ ἐν Ἰθάκῃ οὖσιν ἢ ἐν Τροίᾳ ἢ ὅπως ἂν καὶ τὰ ἔπη ἔχῃ;
>
> *Ion* 535b-c

> [When you give a good recitation and specially thrill your audience, either with the lay of Odysseus leaping forth on the threshold, revealing himself to the suitors and pouring out arrows

46. Nagy 1979.292-297; 1990a.211-212; Murray 1981.97; cf. Redfield 1979.98 on the *Iliad*'s proem.

47. This phenomenon is not restricted to the Greek, or even the Western, poetic tradition. For parallels between Ion and North American shamans, see Massenzio 1985. Parallels with modern Indian oral epic can be noted in Claus 1989, especially on pp. 60 and 74. See also Martin 1989.233-234, with further bibliography.

48. Grube 1965.49 n.2. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Apollonius was directly influenced by this particular dialogue. Callimachus seems to have responded to Plato's description of poets in the *Ion* (cf. Depew 1992.326-327), and so the dialogue may have been well-known in Alexandria in the third-century B.C.

49. On the relationship between rhapsodes and creative poets, see Nagy 1990a.28, 1990b.40-43, 1996, especially pp. 7-86.

> before his feet, or with that of Achilles dashing at Hector, or with some part of the sad story of Andromache, or of Hecabe, or of Priam, are you then in your senses, or are you carried out of yourself, and does your soul in an ecstasy suppose itself to be among the scenes you are describing, whether they be in Ithaca, or in Troy, or as the poems may chance to place them?]

Ion replies that he does indeed experience such feelings. This is not simply a matter of an actor "getting into his part." The empathy experienced by the poet is a manifestation of the authority granted by the Muses to his performance, which is a reenactment, or mimesis, of events from the mythological past. As Gregory Nagy explains:

> There is an authority inherent in mimesis, and this authority confers an absolute status upon the person or thing to be re-enacted. So also for the laments that are quoted, as it were, in Homeric performance. When the rhapsode performs Andromache's lament, he *is* [italics Nagy's] Andromache, singing her lament, just as he *is* [italics Nagy's] Homer, when we hear in the Homeric poems: "tell me, Muses," or "tell me, Muse."[50]

The empathy experienced by the poet is therefore important for the members of the audience in that it allows them to recognize a divinely sanctioned performance. However, the audience is involved still further in Plato's scheme of inspiration. Socrates declares that inspiration is a force similar to magnetism, emanating from the Muses to human beings: poets, rhapsodes, and audiences:

> ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο τέχνη μὲν οὐκ ὂν παρὰ σοὶ περὶ Ὁμήρου εὖ λέγειν, ὃ νῦν δὴ ἔλεγον, θεία δὲ δύναμις, ἥ σε κινεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ λίθῳ, ἣν Εὐριπίδης μὲν Μαγνῆτιν ὠνόμασεν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ Ἡρακλείαν. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ λίθος οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς δακτυλίους ἄγει τοὺς σιδηροῦς ἀλλὰ καὶ δύναμιν ἐντίθησι τοῖς δακτυλίοις, ὥστ' αὖ δύνασθαι ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὅπερ ἡ λίθος, ἄλλους ἄγειν δακτυλίους, ὥστ' ἐνίοτε ὁρμαθὸς μακρὸς πάνυ σιδηρίων καὶ δακτυλίων ἐξ ἀλλήλων ἤρτηται· πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς λίθου ἡ δύναμις ἀνήρταται. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Μοῦσα ἐνθέους μὲν ποιεῖ αὐτή, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἐνθέων τούτων ἄλλων ἐνθουσιαζόντων ὁρμαθὸς ἐξαρτᾶται. πάντες γὰρ οἵ τε τῶν ἐπῶν ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀγαθοὶ οὐκ ἐκ τέχνης ἀλλ' ἔνθεοι ὄντες καὶ κατεχόμενοι πάντα ταῦτα τὰ καλὰ λέγουσι ποιήματα.
>
> *Ion* 533d-e

50. Nagy 1996.86.

> [For as I was saying just now, this is not an art in you, whereby you speak well on Homer, but a divine power, which moves you like the stone that Euripides named a magnet but most people call "Heraclea stone." For this stone not only attracts iron rings, but also imparts to them a power whereby they are in turn able to do the very same thing as the stone, and attract other rings, so that sometimes there is formed quite a long chain of bits of iron and rings, suspended from one another, and they all depend for power on that one stone. In the same manner also the Muse inspires men herself, and then by means of these inspired persons the inspiration spreads to others and holds them in a connected chain. For all the good epic poets utter all those fine poems not from art but from being inspired and possessed.]

It is this power originating from the Muse that makes the poet and audience experience the emotions of the poetry's characters. Thus, in the passage where Socrates asks Ion if he experiences this empathy of emotions, Socrates is careful to specify that he wants to know what Ion feels when he most influences his audience (ὅταν . . . ἐκπλήξῃς μάλιστα τοὺς θεωμένους). Ion's ability to do so is, for Socrates, evidence of the Muse's divine power at work, evidence that Ion's soul is possessed (ψυχὴ ἐνθουσιάζουσα). The audience, whose souls are affected just as much as the poet's and rhapsode's, is the last ring in the chain of divine inspiration (535e-536a). Consequently, a divinely inspired poet not only empathizes closely with his characters, but he also causes his audience to feel these same emotions.

Plato employs this scheme for his own, idiosyncratic purpose, to discredit the achievements of poets by attributing their success to divine influence. However, the idea that a successful poet feels the emotions of his characters and transmits them to his audience is by no means unique to Plato. Aristotle (*Rhetoric* 1408b) draws on this idea when he discusses orators inspiring their audiences with their own emotions and states that these "enthusiastic" (ἐνθουσιάζοντες) orators are much like poets, since poetry is an inspired thing (ἔνθεον γὰρ ἡ ποιήσις). Similarly, in the *Poetics* (1455a.30-32), he declares: πιθανώτατοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως οἱ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσίν εἰσιν, καὶ χειμαίνει ὁ χειμαζόμενος καὶ χαλεπαίνει ὁ ὀργιζόμενος ἀληθινώτατα [those removed from their own nature and in the midst of their stories are the most believable; one who is disturbed disturbs others, and one who is provoked irritates others most realistically]. Longinus considered the ability to imagine oneself in the place of one's characters a mark of excellence in poetry, and he gave it the name of

φαντασία (*On the Sublime* 15.4). This idea also lies behind Horace's famous instruction, "si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi" [if you wish me to weep, you must first feel grief yourself] (*Ars Poetica* 102-103).

Plato and Horace are, however, worlds apart in one respect. Plato attributes the empathy a poet feels for the emotions of his characters, and which he passes on to his audience, to the agency of the inspiring Muses, in order to deny that the poet has any craft, or τέχνη, of his own (*Ion* 536d). Horace, as is obvious from the fact that his advice appears in his *Ars Poetica*, considers this empathy one of the poet's "tools of the trade." Both views must be kept in mind in order to understand what Apollonius accomplishes in the *Argonautica*. The associations he creates between himself and his characters, and extends to his audience, are certainly the products of τέχνη, or *ars*. However, he creates the illusion that divine inspiration is the source of these bonds, since he lays the groundwork for these associations within his invocations to the Muse or Apollo. This paradox is a reminder that Apollonius lived in an age when, as E. R. Dodds says, "the individual began consciously to use the tradition, instead of being used by it."[51]

51. Dodds 1951.237.

2

The Poet's Ecstasy

In the invocation that begins the *Argonautica*, Apollonius establishes the framework in which he will associate the experience of the narrator with the experiences of his characters. As often with this poet, a departure from Homeric practice contains a clue to understanding Apollonius' goals, and this invocation resembles its Homeric counterparts only in a general way. The poet declares in the first line that he will relate the deeds of ancient men (παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν), and as the heroic adventures of the distant past are the proper subject of epic poetry, he places his work firmly alongside Homer in the epic tradition.[1] Apollonius begins by summarizing the particular subject of his heroic poem: the proem sets forth the voyage of the *Argo* as its subject, just as the *Iliad*'s proem establishes the wrath of Achilles as its subject and the *Odyssey*'s first line presents the man Odysseus, as its topic. However, the *Argonautica* does not open with a request of the Muse, as do both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Rather, Apollonius begins with homage to Phoebus: Ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε. This opening, as we have observed, closely resembles the language of hymns, and the imitation of a hymnic prelude recreates the context of an oral performance of epic. [2]

Still, parallels to Apollonius' proem can be found within Homeric epic, although not in the proems themselves of either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Instead, one must look to passages occurring within the midst of the *Odyssey*: those that describe the Phaeacian bard Demodocus in *Odyssey* 8. At the court of Alcinous, Odysseus witnesses the poetic skill of Demodocus, and at 8.487-491, he praises the poet for his accuracy in describing what happened at Troy. The hero exclaims that Demodocus' abilities must be of divine origin: ἦ σέ

1. Conte 1986.70-72.
2. Cf. pp. 6-8 above.

γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς πάϊς, ἦ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων (8.488). Odysseus then asks Demodocus to sing about the wooden horse and promises him this reward:

> αἴ κεν δή μοι ταῦτα κατὰ μοῖραν καταλέξῃς,
> αὐτίκ' ἐγὼ πᾶσιν μυθήσομαι ἀνθρώποισιν
> ὡς ἄρα τοι πρόφρων θεὸς ὤπασε θέσπιν ἀοιδήν.
>
> *Odyssey* 8.496-498

> [If you describe these things correctly for me, then I will tell everyone that the god indeed favors you, and has bestowed upon you divine song.]

Demodocus complies as soon as Odysseus has finished speaking: ὣς φάθ' · ὁ δ' ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἄρχετο, φαῖνε δ' ἀοιδήν [So Odysseus spoke, and the other man, having been inspired, began with the god, and produced his song] (8.499). This is only one of two possible translations: since antiquity this line has caused confusion for interpreters, as to whether the genitive θεοῦ should be taken as dependent on ὁρμηθείς or ἄρχετο. The first reading would indicate that Demodocus begins his song having been prompted by the god, either the Muse or Apollo: ἐκ θεοῦ ἐμπνευσθείς, in the words of the scholiast. This interpretation is certainly consistent with the emphasis Odysseus places on the god-given nature of Demodocus' skill. The other interpretation would indicate that Demodocus begins his poem with an invocation to the god. George Calhoun argues that this second interpretation is the correct one, stating that there are no other instances of the genitive used with forms of ὁρμάω in this way and that the rhythm of the entire line favors taking θεοῦ with ἄρχετο, rather than with ὁρμηθείς.[3] However, since the ancient scholiasts were reluctant to take the genitive with only one of the two possibilities, it may be unwise to try to resolve the ambiguity of the construction. Invocations both begin poems and acknowledge the poet's inspiring deity. Thus it is reasonable to read the genitive θεοῦ as dependent on both ὁρμηθείς and ἄρχετο, and to understand that Demodocus begins his song by invoking the god who inspires him. As we shall see, Apollonius constructs just such an invocation for the start of his epic.

While the beginning of Apollonius' first line echoes Homer's description of Demodocus at *Odyssey* 8.499, the end of this same line

3. Calhoun 1938a.

echoes another passage describing Demodocus, one that occurs earlier in the eighth book. Homer begins relating Demodocus' first song in *Odyssey* 8 with another reference to the poet's inspiring deity: Μοῦσ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν (8.73). The *Argonautica*'s first line ends with a slight variation on Homer's line-ending: κλέα φωτῶν for κλέα ἀνδρῶν.[4] Thus both Homeric passages describing Demodocus' performances are echoed in the words of the *Argonautica*'s narrator about his own activity.[5]

Apollonius does not copy the language of the proems of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* but instead employs the language used by Homer to describe the activity of a poet who is recognized as being inspired by some divinity, who performs orally before an audience, and in the case of his poem about the wooden horse, is capable of spontaneous composition. By modeling the opening of the *Argonautica* on Demodocus' performances in the *Odyssey*, Apollonius places his poem in the tradition of orally performed poetry. The openings of the Homeric texts could not create these associations nearly so well, since they were for Apollonius and his contemporaries just that: texts that had become fixed, or at least standard enough to be the sources of critical inquiry and editing.[6] Apollonius models the opening of his epic not on the beginnings of poems that were for him papyrus rolls shelved in the Museum, but on the poetry of someone known to all familiar with the *Odyssey* as a poet who composed spontaneously and well under the influence of divine inspiration. The Ancients considered Demodocus and his Ithacan counterpart, Phemius, to be

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4. Demodocus' subject matter in this song also resembles that of the *Argonautica*'s opening: his story deals with an oracle of Apollo given to Agamemnon and its fulfillment (8.79-81), just as Apollonius begins his epic by mentioning the oracle given to Pelias and its partial fulfillment when Jason appears to him wearing only one sandal (1.5-8). The one other song of Demodocus was also adapted by Apollonius: Hunter 1993.12 demonstrates that Orpheus, the poet-hero of the *Argonautica*, is modeled on Demodocus.

5. The various commentators note other Homeric parallels, observing that Apollonius' first line is a conflation of two lines from Book 9 of the *Iliad*: σέο δ' ἄρξομαι (9.97) and ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν (9.189). The first phrase is from a speech Nestor makes to Agamemnon, the second describes Achilles occupying himself with song during his period of angry isolation from the Achaean army. Although the second example is concerned with poetic composition, the first is not, and in neither Homeric passage is there any reference to divine inspiration. For more on Demodocus' performance in *Odyssey* 8 as a subtext for the *Argonautica*, cf. Clauss 1993.66-69.

6. For Apollonius' place in the ancient tradition of Homeric critcism, see Rengakos 1993, 1994.

historical figures. [7] Apollonius places his proem in the tradition of performed epic poetry by using as his model a representation of what was for him one of the oldest attested performances of poetry, one dating from the age of heroes.

Just as the language of the *Argonautica*'s incipit differs from Homer's, so does the acknowledged source of inspiration. Unlike Homer, Apollonius does not make an immediate appeal to the Muse, but only makes what could appear to be a rather offhanded reference to the Muses twenty-two lines later: Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς [May the Muses be *hupophêtores* of song]. Apollonius' use of the term ὑποφήτορες has been the source of much controversy. Some, taking the word to mean "interpreter," have argued that Apollonius boldly assigns the Muses a role inferior to that of the narrator; the inferiority is assumed from the prefix ὑπο- in ὑποφήτωρ. Others reject this interpretation as too hubristic and argue that the word must mean "inspirer."[8] The meaning of the word, however, is intelligible only if one considers the wider context of the proem and the poet's initial invocation to Apollo. As we shall see shortly, Apollonius capitalizes on the connections Apollo has not only to the production of poetry but also to the Delphic Oracle, which was ultimately responsible for the Argonautic expedition. Apollonius casts his *Argonautica* as a sort of oracle: an accurate account of events from the distant past revealed by the divine agency of Apollo. The Delphic Apollo's oracular truth became intelligible only through the agency of the προφήτης, the official who received the god's message from the Pythia and relayed it to those visiting the oracle.[9] Likewise, the *Argonautica* requires the Muses as ὑποφήτορες to convey the story of the Argonauts. Apollonius' Muses function as προφῆται in converting the oracular truth of Apollo into poetry. This similarity is especially close, considering that the formalized utterance of the Pythia was sometimes delivered in dactylic hexameter, the meter of epic.[10]

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7. Gostoli 1986.

8. For the ὑποφήτορες as "interpreters," see Gercke 1889.135-136; Beye 1982.14-15. For ὑποφήτορες as "inspirers," see Seaton 1888; Ardizzoni 1967.103-104; Vian 1.239. See also Clauss 1993.17-20, with a full bibliography on the controversy.

9. Fontenrose 1978.218-219; Nagy 1990a.162-168.

10. Beye 1982.13-15. For oracles delivered in hexameter as conveyed by the literary tradition, see Herodotus 1.55.2, 62.4, 65.3, 66.2, 67.4, 174.5; Aristophanes *Birds* 967-968, *Knights* 197-201. The actual practice of delivering the oracle in hexameters was not, however, invariable; see Fontenrose 1978.166-224.

Προφῆται such as those at Delphi, in that they formalize the will of the god into a speech-act, are very similar to actors, ὑποκριταί.[11] This same prefix ὑπο- can be found in other terms related to performance at the theater, terms that shed light on Apollonius' use of ὑποφήτωρ. Plutarch uses the term ὑπολέγω to describe Euripides' role in training his actors, and the term ὑποβολεύς to describe a prompter who guides the actors on stage (*Moralia* 46b, 813f). In both instances, a person with authority over the poetry, in the first case the poet himself, aids those delivering a performance of the poetry. These two terms thus show that ὑπο- can indicate not only subordination but also support.[12] Furthermore, the role of the poet/prompter is identical with that of the Muses, especially if one considers Penelope Murray's argument that the poet invokes his Muse not for ideas but for a steady stream of unfaltering verses.[13] Apollonius appeals to the Muses in this capacity: deities who will enable him to articulate the story, whose ultimate source is Apollo, into poetry, and who will prompt his production of verse. Apollonius' use of the term ὑποφήτωρ, then, far from being a hubristic reversal of the original role of the Muses as inspirers, expresses the close connections with performance the Muses possessed from very early times.

Describing the Muses with language reminiscent of the oracular hierarchy at Delphi parallels the hierarchy that Apollo possesses over the Muses in the poetic tradition. We have seen that Odysseus considers Apollo a possible source of Demodocus' inspiration: ἦ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς πάϊς, ἦ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων (*Odyssey* 8.488). Eumelus records a tradition that the father of the Muses was not Zeus but Apollo (fr. 17 Kinkel). Even where Apollo's role as a source of inspiration is not specifically mentioned, his presence is sometimes felt. Hesiod emphatically assigns his inspiration to the Muses, yet the symbol of this inspiration is a staff of laurel, the tree sacred to Apollo.[14] This hierarchy of Apollo over the Muses is also demonstrated in the epithets of Apollo as Μούσαρχος (Terpander *PMG* 941) or Μοισαγέτας (Pindar fr. 94c Maehler) "leader of the Muses." This relationship of Apollo to the Muses seems to have served as a powerful model for the performance of poetry in the

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11. As they are called in Plato (*Timaeus* 72b). See Nagy 1989. 26, 1990a.158-174, who demonstrates the importance of performance for the activation of oracles.

12. Cf. the discussion of ὑπόρχημα in Nagy 1990a.351-353.

13. Cf. p. 8 above.

14. For a discussion of the imagery of the laurel, see Kambylis 1965.18-23.

choral tradition, where Apollo presides over the entire choral production involving musical instrumentation, dancing, and singing, while the Muses' special care is the performance of the poetry.[15] As Gregory Nagy demonstrates, "The . . . name of a figure like Stesichorus, *Stêsikhoros* 'he who sets up the chorus', implies that a poet . . . may somehow function as a ritual stand-in for the divine models of choral lyric poetry, Apollo and the Muses."[16] The poet's authorship is in effect supported by the authority of the god with whom he is identified.[17]

This authority is what Apollonius achieves in his invocation to Apollo, which establishes a close association between the narrator and his inspiring deity. This affinity is created as soon as Apollo is invoked, simply because of the etymological connection between the deity's name and that of the poet. Apollonius invokes Phoebus, whose other name, Apollo, forms the base of the poet's own name. In his proem, he addresses his divine patron as Phoebus rather than Apollo, perhaps to avoid making the play on names too obvious. Elsewhere, however, Apollonius frequently refers to the god as Apollo, and when the name appears in the genitive, it differs from the poet's only by one iota. On one level, this could be viewed as playful Alexandrian self-consciousness, found in other Hellenistic poets: Nicander spells out his own name at *Theriaca* 345-353 by means of an acrostic, and Aratus apparently makes a play on his own name in the proem of his *Phaenomena*.[18] There is, however, more at work here than mere playfulness. The similarity of the names of god and poet suggests that Apollonius has a special relationship with Phoebus.[19] Apollonius means, after all, "belonging to Apollo." In the context of poetic

15. Nagy 1990a.360-361. On Apollo and the Muses in Pindar, see also Duchemin 1955.23-25.

16. Nagy 1990a.363.

17. Ibid.363-365; cf. Nagy 1989.55-56.

18. In the first line, Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτ' ἄνδρες ἐῶμεν ἄρρητον, the adjective ἄρρητος may well be a pun on Aratus' name. Bing 1990 has strengthened the case for accepting the pun by showing evidence that other ancient poets recognized this wordplay in Aratus.

19. Cf. Redfield 1979.98-99, who argues that Homer implies a special relationship with his Muse in the *Iliad*'s proem. Homer first addresses her as simply θεά, while normally one invokes a deity with the god's proper name before addressing it in this general way. "To pray to a goddess as simply θεά . . . assumes that the correct goddess will know she is being addressed, and this in turn assumes a preexisting relation between speaker and goddess."

inspiration, this relationship has a special resonance. A divinely inspired poet is ἔνθεος, "possessed by the god." Hence, Apollonius' invocation to Apollo encourages one to recognize the spiritual link between poet and deity. Apollonius has other, more compelling reasons for highlighting Apollo in his poem, as we shall see, yet the similarity between the poet's and the god's names strengthens Apollonius' portrayal of the narrator as an agent of divine inspiration, ὁ θεράπων Ἀπόλλωνος.[20] By composing an epic in which he can make Apollo figure so prominently, Apollonius creates a close bond between his poetry and the poet's identity, symbolized by his name. Apollonius thus establishes himself as heir to the semi-mythical poetic personalities of the distant past whose names indicated their association with a divine inspirer (e.g., Musaeus) or reflected their activity as poets (e.g., Stesichorus).[21]

In presenting the epic's narrator as being inspired by Phoebus, Apollonius could exploit the fact that Apollo was, more than any other member of the Greek pantheon (except perhaps for Dionysus), well known in the literary tradition for his power to possess mortals.[22] Apollo's powers of possession were especially associated with his priestess at Delphi, the Pythia. When she was delivering the god's oracles, the Pythia was commonly thought to enter into a state of possession: ἐνθουσιασμός. The more outrageous aspects of this ἐνθουσιασμός mentioned by some ancient authors, such as rabid outbreaks of frenzy and foaming at the mouth, probably have very little to do with what could actually have been observed at Delphi.[23] Still, it was conventional in the literary tradition to think of the Pythia's consciousness as being at least partially subsumed by Apollo.

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20. This idea is also behind Aeschylus' epithet of Βακχεῖος in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1259, since Bacchus is the deity who presides over drama. For the special relationship between mortals having a name based on a god's appellation and that deity, compare the historian Timaeus' comment about the Sicilian Hermocrates. Timaeus claimed that it was Hermocrates, son of Hermon, who defeated the Athenians campaigning against Syracuse, because the Athenians had mutilated the statues of Hermes before sailing for Sicily. (Reported in Longinus 4.3.) For the significance of names in Pindar, see Nagy 1990a.199-214.

21. For more examples, see Nagy 1990a.372-373.

22. These powers are vividy illustrated in Aeschylus' portrayal of Cassandra in *Agamemnon* 1072-1330. Cf. pp. 37-38 below.

23. Fontenrose 1978.204-212 has demonstrated that this portrayal of the Pythia is mainly the creation of later writers, particularly the Latin poet Lucan.

Hence she usually expressed Apollo's will in the first person, as if it were the god himself speaking.[24]

Because of these strong connections to divine possession, Apollo is a particularly appropriate deity to be invoked by a poet portraying his narrator as ἔνθεος, especially since mantic and poetic inspiration were thought of as similar phenomena. This is illustrated by the form of the Delphic oracles themselves; they were sometimes delivered in dactylic hexameters, the meter employed by epic poets. It is therefore not surprising that ancient writers often described poetic inspiration by analogy to the Pythia's ἐνθουσιασμός. In *Laws* 719c, Plato declares that a poet experiences a sort of ecstasy "when he sits on the tripod of the Muse." This clear reference to the famous tripod at Delphi, upon which the Pythia sat during her mantic sessions, implies a similarity between the enthusiasm she experienced and the divine inspiration of poets. Longinus likewise describes literary inspiration with a simile based on the Pythia's tripod (13.2). Strabo appealed to such Apolline ἐνθουσιασμός to describe the spontaneous production of verse performed by Diogenes of Tarsus; he says that Diogenes composed poetry on subjects supplied by his audience [as if he spoke from Phoebus] ὥσπερ ἀπεφοίβαζε (14.5.15). While these authors are rather late, they draw on a traditional connection between poetry and prophecy that, as we saw in the last chapter, dates from a very early period of Greek civilization.[25]

Apollo's oracle is mentioned twice within the first eight lines of the *Argonautica*, and the proem's Delphic milieu, resonant with connotations of divine inspiration, provides a fitting background for Apollonius' invocation to his inspiring deity. Such oracular-driven epic is reflected in Homeric epic by Demodocus' first song at *Odyssey* 8.73-82, which tells of Agamemnon's interpretation of an oracle he received at Delphi concerning a quarrel among the "best of the Achaeans."[26] However, as often in the *Argonautica*, more parallels for Apollonius' epic can be found in the Epic Cycle than in the Homeric epics. Proclus' summary of the *Cypria* shows that the prophetic powers of Cassandra and Helenus played a part in that poem, powers that Homer never mentions. Helenus also seems to have been

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24. Cf. Herodotus 1.65.3, 1.66.2. Fontenrose 1978.207 points out that this practice was not entirely invariable.

25. Cf. p. 11 above.

26. For a discussion of Demodocus' song and its relation to the epic tradition, see Nagy 1979, especially pp. 21-25, 64-65.

important in the *Little Iliad*. Likewise, those epics that treated the unhappy story of Oedipus and his descendants, if Sophocles' Theban plays are any reflection of the Cycle,[27] must have been full of references to Delphi. This certainly seems to have been the case with the *Epigonoi*, which told the story of a daughter of Teiresias, the archetypical prophet, who was herself named Manto (cf. *mantis*, "seer"), and the results of her trip to the oracle at Delphi (F 3).[28]

Phoebus' power to inspire the Delphic priestess is particularly relevant for the *Argonautica*, since his oracle puts the events of the Argonaut saga in motion. The oracle of Apollo, mentioned twice in the proem of the *Argonautica*, once in line 5 (τοίην γὰρ Πελίης φάτιν ἔκλυεν) and again in line 8 (βάξιν), motivates Pelias to send Jason on the search for the golden fleece. Indeed, Apollonius seems to have expanded Delphi's importance for the Argonaut myth. He also mentions a second oracle, delivered to Jason, in which Apollo promised the young hero success on his voyage. Jason encourages his crew with this news (1.360-362) and in a prayer before embarking, reminds Apollo of the god's promises (1.411-414). In Book 4, we learn still more about what was contained in this second oracle (4.529, 4.532-533, 4.1750-1752). Much of this may be Apollonius' invention, since this second oracle to Jason is not a part of the earliest version of the legend.[29]

Apollo is therefore doubly responsible for Apollonius' *Argonautica*. As the Delphic god of prophecy, he is responsible for the epic's content, since he ultimately caused the voyage of the *Argo*. As god of poetry, he is also responsible for the epic's form, since his inspiration makes the poem's composition possible.[30] The grammatical structure of the proem embraces both aspects of Apollo's importance. The opening of the epic, Ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν μνήσομαι, is capable of two interpretations, depending on how one translates the participle. The scholiast is quite helpful in this case:

> Ἀρχόμενος· ἀπὸ περιεκτικοῦ ῥήματος ἡ μετοχὴ ἐσχημάτισται. περιεκτικὰ δέ εἰσιν, ὅσα (καὶ) δράσιν καὶ πάθος ἐμφαίνουσιν, οἷον βιάζομαι, δωροῦμαι, σφαγιάζομαι. οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἄρχομαι

27. Athenaeus (277c) claims that Sophocles followed the Cycles' version of myths in composing whole dramas.

28. For more on the oracular element in the Cycle, see Davies 1989.40-47, 65, 80-81.

29. Fontenrose 1978.389-390 (L96).

30. Mooney 1912 on 1.1; Fränkel 35; Blumberg 1931.7; Clauss 1993.14; DeForest 1994.37.

> τὸ μέν τι σημαίνει 'ἀπὸ σοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιοῦμαι' -- ἔθος γὰρ ἀπὸ προοιμιάζεσθαι· 'ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα[31]' --, τὸ δέ τι σημαίνει 'ἀρχαιρεσιαζόμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ' οἷον ἐνθουσιῶν. παραπλησίως γὰρ τοὺς ποιητὰς τοῖς μαινομένοις ἐνθουσιᾶν ⟨λέγεται⟩. κέχρηται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχόμενος παρατατικοῦ μετοχῇ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρξάμενος.
>
> scholion to Apollonius (1-4a Wendel)

> [*Arkhomenos*: The participle is constructed from a "comprehensive" verb. Comprehensive verbs are those that can have both active and passive meanings, such as *biazomai* (I force/I am forced), *dôroumai* (I give/I am given), *sphagiazomai* (I slay/I am slain). Thus *arkhomai* means "I make my start with you"—for it is customary to preface poems by acknowledging the gods, e.g., "Let us begin with Zeus"—but it also means "I am chosen by you," such as someone possessed by a god, for poets are said to be possessed in the same way that raving individuals are. The poet has used the continuous participle "beginning" instead of "having begun."]

The participle illustrates Apollo's double role and highlights Apollonius' role as intermediary: Apollo inspires Apollonius to relate events caused by Apollo. The scholiast's use of the unusual term ἀρχαιρεσιάζω to explain how ἀρχόμενος indicates Apollo's inspiration of the poet shows that this ancient commentator saw the unique authority that Phoebus lends the *Argonautica*. Ἀρχαιρεσιάζω is a political term that describes the election of magistrates in an assembly.[32] An assembly of citizens elects a magistrate as the official agent of the state, that is, as a surrogate to perform the will of the citizens. Just so, implies the scholiast, Apollonius is "elected" by Phoebus as the one who will perform the epic through the agency of the god's divine inspiration. As the scholiast notes, Apollonius uses the present participle with its continuous aspect, rather than the aorist with its simple aspect. Hence we are to understand that Apollo's inspiration continues throughout the narration of the *Argonautica*.

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31. As in Aratus *Phaenomena* 1 and Theocritus *Idylls* 17.1. We might also compare the start of the *Epigonoi*: νῦν αὖθ' ὁπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀρχώμεθα Μοῦσαι, where the plural, unless it is a simple poetic plural for singular, is a genuine plural including both the poet and the Muses. Davies 1989.31.

32. E.g., Plutarch *Camillus* 9, *Crassus* 14; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* 2.14. The noun describing the assembly itself, ἀρχαιρεσία, is attested much earlier. E.g., Herodotus 6.58; Plato *Laws* 752c; Xenophon *Memorabilia* 3.4.1.

One effect of powerful inspiration, as portrayed by Plato and others, is that the narrator's experience becomes, at times, assimilated to that of his characters. Phoebus' dual role as patron of the poet and also of the Argonauts already associates the narrator with his heroes within the proem of the epic, yet Apollonius strengthens this association by means of verbal echoes later in the poem. Apollonius' invocation to Apollo at the start of his poem is echoed later in Book 1 by the Argonauts' sacrifice to Apollo at the start of their voyage. Jason urges the Argonauts to build an altar to Apollo:

> Τείως δ' αὖ καὶ βωμὸν ἐπάκτιον Ἐμβασίοιο
> θείομεν Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅ μοι χρείων ὑπέδεκτο
> σημανέειν δείξειν τε πόρους ἁλός, εἴ κε θυηλαῖς
> οὗ ἕθεν ἐξάρχωμαι ἀεθλεύων βασιλῆι.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.359-362

> [Meanwhile let us build an altar on the shore to Apollo Embasios, who, in an oracle, promised to mark out and show me the paths of the sea, if with sacrifices to him I begin my labors for the king.]

The phrase εἴ κε θυηλαῖς οὗ ἕθεν ἐξάρχωμαι recalls Ἀρχόμενος σέο Φοῖβε, Apollonius' initial invocation.[33] The πόρους ἁλός here recall the πόρους ἁλός appearing in the same metrical position in line 21 of the epic, where the poet declares his subject matter. Apollonius begins his epic, and Jason begins his voyage, by paying homage to Apollo. Given the proper respect, Apollo will guide both poet and Argonauts safely to the end of their tasks. The poet closely binds himself to his subject by creating a similarity between his activity and that of his characters.

Virgil does the same in his *Aeneid* by echoing his incipit later in the epic, in a passage that describes Turnus devastating the Trojan ranks:

> Lyncea tendentem contra sociosque vocantem
> vibranti gladio conixus ab aggere dexter
> occupat, huic uno deiectum comminus ictu
> cum galea longe iacuit caput. inde ferarum
> vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter
> ungere tela manu ferrumque armare veneno.
> et Clytium Aeoliden et amicum Crethea Musis,
> Crethea Musarum comitem, cui carmina semper
> et citharae cordi numerosque intendere nervis,
> semper equos atque arma virum pugnasque canebat.
>
> *Aeneid* 9.768-777

33. DeForest 1994.41-42.

> [Having struggled on the right from the rampart, he strikes with a flashing sword Lynceus moving against him and calling his comrades. This one's head, severed by a single blow at close range, landed with its helmet far away. Next he killed Amycus, destroyer of wild beasts, who surpassed all in anointing weapons and arming steel with venom. And he killed Clytius Aeolides and Cretheus, dear to the Muses, Cretheus, attendant of the Muses, whose joy was in songs and lyres and striking rhythms on the strings; always of horses and the arms of men and battles did he once sing.]

If one removes the spondee "pugnas" from the last line, a close echo of the first line of the *Aeneid* is created: "arma virumque canebat."[34] Virgil acknowledges that he is imitating an Apollonian practice by leading up to the echo of his invocation with a remarkable conglomeration of names that appear in the *Argonautica*: Lynceus and Clytius are the names of Argonauts; the patronymic Aeolides is applicable to a number of characters in Apollonius' epic; Cretheus is Jason's grandfather, Pelias' stepfather; Amycus is the Bebrycian king whom Polydeukes defeats in boxing.[35]

Apollonius does not consistently identify his activity with Jason's actions. Such a slavish assimilation of the narrator to one character would soon become too constraining and lead to obvious difficulties.[36] Rather, at various stages in the poem, different characters bear a transitory resemblance to the poet. One character who greatly resembles the narrator is Phineus. He, too, claims Apollo as the source of his abilities (2.180-181), and, drawing on his prophetic powers, he reveals information to the Argonauts about their subsequent voyage to Colchis. Apollonius later repeats much of this same material when describing the actual voyage, and so he and Phineus are closely linked by the similarity of their actions. Charles

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34. Conte 1986.72-73. The transformation also entails reading "virum" as an accusative singular, rather than an archaic genitive plural.

35. Lynceus is named at 1.151, 1.153, 4.1466, 4.1478; Clytius at 1.86, 1.1044, 2.117, 2.1043; Aeolides at 1.121, 2.849, 2.1141, 3.339, 3.361, 3.584, 3.1094, 4.119; Cretheus at 2.1162-1163, 3.358, 3.360; Amycus figures prominently in the beginning of Book 2.

36. One need only look to the Orphic *Argonautica*, which purports to be the words of the Argonaut Orpheus himself, to observe examples of the difficulties created when the narrator is rigidly identified with one of the characters in an epic poem. For example, at 894-933, "Orpheus" describes at some length the shrine of Artemis in Colchis where the golden fleece was deposited and the fleece's guardian dragon—and then hurriedly explains that this knowledge came to him from Medea.

Beye comments, "We observe the poet become Phineus."[37] Phineus' relationship to his audience, the Argonauts, provides a model for the relationship of the *Argonautica*'s poet to his own audience. The young heroes rid Phineus of the curse of the Harpies, and in return, the aged prophet aids the Argonauts by advising them on how to accomplish their task. Phineus' beneficence is confirmed later in the epic, when his prophecies are realized and his advice turns out to have been good.

This repetition of Phineus' prophecies, made when Apollonius describes them as they are fulfilled, creates a reciprocally beneficial arrangement between character and poet. Apollonius' depiction of the events foretold by Phineus validates that character's claim to be a prophet, but the equation also works the other way. Because Phineus' prophecies to his audience, the Argonauts, are shown to have been truthful, one is invited to make a similar conclusion about Phineus' counterpart, Apollonius. In other words, Apollonius encourages his audience to conclude that the "prophecies" they are receiving, the *Argonautica*, represent some sort of truth. The close association of poetry and prophecy in the Greek tradition is again of crucial importance, facilitating the equation of Phineus' prophecies with Apollonius' poetry. This correspondence need not imply that the *Argonautica* purports to convey truth in an absolute sense; it implies merely that the epic has a privileged status amid a host of poetic fictions, the honor of being the definitive treatment of a myth.[38] This Phineus episode therefore validates the authority claimed by the poet when he begins the epic with the invocation to Apollo.

Like Phineus, the poet Orpheus, by virtue of their common profession, also resembles the poet of the *Argonautica*. It is therefore not surprising that Apollonius gives him special prominence in the *Argonautica*. Orpheus is the very first hero named in the catalogue, and Apollonius calls attention to his privileged position: Πρῶτά νυν Ὀρφῆος μνησώμεθα (1.23).[39] Orpheus then appears frequently throughout the epic. Orpheus' association with the narrator is like that between the poet and Jason and Phineus in that Apollo helps to make the connection, and this implies that the empathy between poet and character is due to divine inspiration.

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37. Beye 1982.104.

38. For a similar relationship of mutual benefaction between Achilles, the greatest of the Achaeans, and the poet of the *Iliad*, see Martin 1989, especially pp. 206-239.

39. Fusillo 1985.362.

The clearest illustration of this occurs in a remarkable passage in Book 2, which has attracted much interest among scholars.[40] After Apollo has made an epiphany to the Argonauts, Orpheus advises them to make a sacrifice to the god. He ends his recommendation with an apostrophe to Apollo, saying, ἵληθι, ἄναξ, ἵληθι φαανθείς (2.693). A few lines later Apollonius relates in indirect statement the content of the song Orpheus sings to accompany a dance by the Argonauts, whose subject is Phoebus' slaying of the Delphic dragon. Apollonius' description has something of a false start; he makes an unfortunate choice of words, for which he then endeavors to make amends:

> . . . Σὺν δέ σφιν ἐὺς πάις Οἰάγροιο
> Βιστονίῃ φόρμιγγι λιγείης ἦρχεν ἀοιδῆς·
> ὥς ποτε πετραίῃ ὑπὸ δειράδι Παρνησοῖο
> Δελφύνην τόξοισι πελώριον ἐξενάριξε,
> κοῦρος ἐὼν ἔτι γυμνός, ἔτι πλοκάμοισι γεγηθώς --
> ἱλήκοις· αἰεί τοι, ἄναξ, ἄτμητοι ἔθειραι,
> αἰὲν ἀδήλητοι·
>
> *Argonautica* 2.703-709
>
> [And with them the good son of Oeagrus began a clear song on his Bistonian lyre, about how once under the rocky cliff of Parnassus (Apollo) slew the monster Delphunes with his bow, while he was a boy still unclothed, still rejoicing in his locks—Pardon! Always, Lord, may your hair be unshorn, always may it be unharmed!]

Apollonius' words ἱλήκοις and ἄναξ recall those of Orpheus (ἵληθι, ἄναξ) only a few lines earlier. The interconnection of the words of the narrator and those of his character is enhanced by the use of indirect statement. It is, in fact, unclear whether the mistake about Apollo's hair and the apology were made by Orpheus and are being related by Apollonius or whether it is Apollonius who makes the error in relating the content of Orpheus' song.[41] It is idle to try to resolve the matter, since the ambiguity is significant, serving to blur the lines between Orpheus and Apollonius. This blurring serves to emphasize the parallel between the Argonauts' voyage and Apollonius' journey through his narrative: the Argonauts seek Apollo's favor in order to

40. Beye 1982.18-19; Fusillo 1985.58-59; Hunter 1993.150-151.

41. The confusion lies in whether the error occurred within the framework of the narrative or in the process of narrating. See Fränkel 227-228 on 2.707-710. The distinction between the story and the arrangement of the narrative is discussed at length in the next chapter.

find their way successfully to Colchis; Apollonius beseeches Apollo when he has made a temporary stumble in his own voyage by implying a "falsehood"—that Apollo's hair was at some time shorn after the events related in Orpheus' song. (This is the implication of ἔτι πλοκάμοισι γεγηθώς.) The poet must ask Apollo's forgiveness in order to correct his course through the narrative.

The image of Apollo's uncut hair is especially appropriate for a passage where Apollonius makes one of his closest associations between the narrator and the characters. Apollo's eternal youth, symbolized by his untouched hair, is as valid for the narrator as for the Argonauts. As Mary Margolies DeForest notes, "The ever-growing hair is a visual image of the continuity between the Bronze Age and the Alexandrian Age."[42] The narrator of the *Argonautica* can celebrate Apollo's divine immutability in the same terms as Orpheus. The collapsing of the vast stretch of time between Apollonius and Orpheus, made possible by Apollo, grants authority to Apollonius' description of the mythical poet's exploits in his *Argonautica*.

The narrator's assimilation of his character's speech is a fundamental element of epic, where the poet includes numerous reported speeches within his narrative. Socrates in Plato's *Republic* (393c) calls this practice of the poet τὸ ὁμοιοῦν ἑαυτὸν ἄλλῳ κατὰ φωνήν. Apollonius takes this assimilation, τὸ ὁμοιοῦν, a step further than Homer, for unlike the usual practice of his predecessor, he does not always clearly demarcate the portions assigned to his characters' speeches and to his own narration. The example with Orpheus given above is an extreme example of the blurring of the boundary between the poet's and his character's speech.

Longinus does, however, detect an instance of this blurring of the distinction between narrator and character in Homer (*Iliad* 15.346-349), and he expresses admiration for the passage:

> Ἔτι γε μὴν ἔσθ' ὅτε περὶ προσώπου διηγούμενος ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐξαίφνης παρενεχθεὶς εἰς τὸ αὐτοπρόσωπον ἀντιμεθίσταται, καὶ ἔστι τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος ἐκβολή τις πάθους.
>
> Ἕκτωρ δὲ Τρώεσσι ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν ἀΰσας
> νηυσὶν ἐπισσεύεσθαι, ἐὰν δ' ἔναρα βροτόεντα·
> ὃν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐθέλοντα νοήσω,
> αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσομαι.

42. DeForest 1994.82, but with conclusions much different from mine.

> οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν διήγησιν ἅτε πρέπουσαν ὁ ποιητὴς προσῆψεν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δ' ἀπότομον ἀπειλὴν τῷ θυμῷ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐξαπίνης οὐδὲν προδηλώσας περιέθηκεν· ἐψύχετο γάρ, εἰ παρενετίθει " ἔλεγε δὲ τοιά τινα καὶ τοῖα ὁ "Εκτωρ."
>
> *On the Sublime* 27.1

[Again sometimes a writer, while speaking of one of his characters, suddenly turns and changes into the actual character. A figure of this kind is a sort of outbreak of emotion:

> Hector lifted his voice and cried afar to the Trojans
> To haste them back to the galleys and leave the
> blood-spattered booty.
> Whomsoever I spy of his own will afar from the galleys,
> Death for him there will I plan.

There the poet has assigned himself the narrative as his proper share, and then suddenly without any warning attached the abrupt threat to the angry champion. To insert "Hector said so and so" would have been frigid.][43]

Longinus reads the passage in the same way as Nicanor (scholion on 15.346), who labels this sharp break into direct speech as a μετάβασις ἀπὸ τοῦ διηγηματικοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ μιμητικόν [a shift from narrative to reenactment].[44] Even though Nicanor claims this is the way the passage was normally interpreted, the grammar could be interpreted differently: the infinitives ἐπισσεύεσθαι and ἐᾶν can be taken as independent of ἀΰσας, standing alone and having an imperative force, a common construction in Homer. If we interpret the infinitives this way, then Hector's words are in fact marked off in quotations, as it were, by the introductory ἀΰσας.[45] It is still significant that Longinus finds such a technique desirable, even if he is mistaken in observing it in this passage.[46] Moreover, Longinus gives another example, from

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43. This passage and the one below translated by Fyfe 1927.

44. For Apollonius' use of diegesis and mimesis, as typical of epic and drama, respectively, see Fusillo 1985.209-250.

45. As, indeed, ἀΰσας functions at *Iliad* 4.508, 6.66, 6.100, 8.172, 11.285, 13.413, 13.445, 14.448, 14.478, 15.424, 15.485, 16.268, 17.183, 21.307. This construction does not, however, appear in the *Odyssey*.

46. There are only two other passages in Homer where the same sort of thing occurs, *Iliad* 4.303 and *Iliad* 23.855, but these are problematic. In Book 4 Nestor gives instructions that seem inappropriate for the context, and the text is therefore suspect. See Leaf 1971 and Kirk 1985 ad loc. Equally suspicious is the passage in Book 23; here, Achilles gives instructions for the archery contest, instructions that oddly anticipate the

the rather surprising source of Hecataeus,[47] which inarguably demonstrates the figure he is discussing:

> Κῆυξ δὲ ταῦτα δεινὰ ποιούμενος αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἐπιγόνους ἐκχωρεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν δυνατός εἰμι ἀρήγειν. ὡς μὴ ὢν αὐτοί τε ἀπολέεσθε κἀμὲ τρώσετε, ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ δῆμον ἀποίχεσθε.
>
> *On the Sublime* 27.2 (= *FGrH* 30)

> [Ceyx took this ill and immediately bade the younger descendants of Heracles be gone. For I cannot help you. So to prevent perishing yourselves and hurting me, away with you to some other people.]

Longinus admires this technique because it is caused by extreme emotion: it is an ἐκβολή τις πάθους. Elsewhere Longinus shows that he considers πάθος crucial for poetic (or rhetorical) composition by describing it in language traditionally connected with divine inspiration. When listing it as one of the five sources of the sublime, he calls it ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πάθος (8.1). Ἐνθουσιαστικός and words based on the same root were traditionally linked with inspiration at least since the fifth century B.C.,[48] and Longinus uses other, equally traditional vocabulary to describe inspiration elsewhere in connection with πάθος (e.g., 8.4). Although πάθος has many shades of meaning, these may be roughly grouped into two basic categories. It may be an actual experience of suffering, as Aristotle defines it: πάθος δέ ἐστι πρᾶξις φθαρτικὴ ἢ ὀδυνηρά, οἷον οἵ τε ἐν τῷ φανερῷ θάνατοι καὶ αἱ περιωδυνίαι καὶ τρώσεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα [*pathos* is a painful or destructive thing, such as deaths in plain sight, suffering, wounds, and the like] (*Poetics* 1452b.11-13). At times Longinus uses πάθος in this sense, as in his comparison of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in 9.13. More often, he seems to use it in a different sense, which corresponds, more or less, to our word "emotion." Aristotle himself sometimes uses πάθος in this way, such as when he lists pity, fear, and anger as examples of πάθος (*Poetics* 1456a.38). Both meanings apply to the

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unlikely outcome of that contest: that one of the contestants might hit the string instead of the bird, which Teucer actually comes to do. Cf., however, 1.17 and 6.45-46, where the changes from narrative to speech are subtle enough that the scholiast thought it necessary to point them out (as with the other passages discussed above). See de Jong 1987.11-12.

47. Who was one of Apollonius' sources, according to Pearson 1938.443-459.

48. As in Democritus (fr. 55B18 Diels): ποιητὴς δὲ ἅσσα μὲν ἂν γράφῃ μετ' ἐνθουσιαμοῦ καὶ ἱεροῦ πνεύματος, καλὰ κάρτα ἐστίν [Whatever a poet writes while possessed and divinely inspired is very beautiful]. See Dodds 1951.82.

conjoining of poet and character; the poet experiences intense emotion because he empathizes strongly with the experience of his character. Longinus also maintains that a poet or orator who has effectively tapped into the emotions of his subject is capable of inspiring these same emotions in his audience (16.2). As Gregory Nagy has shown, this is a possible reading of Aristotle's differing uses of πάθος in connection with tragedy: "the *pathos* experienced by the hero is a primal 'ordeal' while the reactive *pathos* experienced by the audience . . . may be translated as simply 'emotion.'" [49] In this way, both Aristotle and Longinus seem to have envisioned a connection between the experiences of mythological figures and audiences much like the scheme of inspiration found in Plato's *Ion* (533d).

Apollonius, by creating correspondences between his narrative persona and the characters of his epic, draws on a principle of poetic composition that was recognized at least as early as Plato and was still crucial for ancient literary criticism in Longinus' day. However, the Alexandrian poet's technique differs from the phenomenon described by Plato and Longinus in that the element of strong emotion need not be involved. The blending of Apollonius' narrative persona with Orpheus as described above does occur at a moment of high, though perhaps feigned, emotion, at a point when Orpheus/Apollonius is troubled that he has slighted Apollo's divinity. This, however, is not always the case: Jason is assimilated to the poet by calculated verbal echoes and similarities in their relationship to Apollo, as is Phineus. A careful manipulation of language and association is the driving force behind such *contaminatio* of personae, not strong emotion.[50] By mimicking a phenomenon traditionally associated with divine inspiration and its emotional effects, Apollonius lends authority and an aura of immediacy to his studied poetry.

Apollonius also employs indirect speech to assimilate the narrator's language with that of Medea. The poet describes Medea praying to Hecate, requesting help to bewitch the serpent guarding the golden fleece. The poet's language affects a stylistic element typical of prayer, the enumeration of epithets applied to the deity to whom the prayer is addressed:[51]

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49. Nagy 1994-1995.50; cf. Nagy 1996.95-96.

50. Martin 1989.206-230 detects a comparable assimilation achieved by verbal similiarities between the narrator of the *Iliad* and Achilles.

51. Vian 3.152. Vian gives other examples.

Τοῖο δ' ἑλισσομένοιο κατόμματον εἴσατο κούρη,
Ὕπνον ἀοσσητῆρα, θεῶν ὕπατον, καλέουσα
ἡδείῃ ἐνοπῇ, θέλξαι τέρας· αὖε δ' ἄνασσαν
νυκτιπόλον, χθονίην, εὐαντέα, δοῦναι ἐφορμήν.

Argonautica 4.145-148

[While the serpent wound its coils, the girl looked down, calling with a sweet cry upon Sleep, highest of the gods, to help her entrance the monster, and she called upon the queen who roams at night, who dwells beneath the earth, who is gracious, to give her a way to attack.]

Apollonius' narrative persona is possessed, as it were, by his character. By not separating Medea's speech into a direct quote, Apollonius creates the impression that he has lost some of his own identity and has become ἔκφρων, and that the fusion of consciousness between poet and inspiring power when the poet becomes ἔνθεος has occurred. Similarly, when the Argonauts are initiated into the mysteries of the Cabiri on Samothrace, the narrator himself adopts the code of secrecy imposed upon intitiates:

Τῶν μὲν ἔτ' οὐ προτέρω μυθήσομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ
νῆσος ὁμῶς κεχάροιτο καὶ οἳ λάχον ὄργια κεῖνα
δαίμονες ἐνναέται, τὰ μὲν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν ἀείδειν.

Argonautica 1.919-921

[I will say no more of these, but bid farewell to the island itself and the deities dwelling there who have as their share these mysteries, of which it is not right for me to sing.]

The narrator's appropriation of his character's point of view can defy logic, especially since an epic narrator is usually omniscient, while epic heroes generally are not. These implications become obvious in the description of Idmon's death:

Κεῖτο γὰρ εἰαμενῇ δονακώδεος ἐν ποταμοῖο,
ψυχόμενος λαγόνας τε καὶ ἄσπετον ἰλύι νηδύν,
κάπριος ἀργιόδων, ὀλοὸν τέρας, ὅν ῥα καὶ αὐταὶ
Νύμφαι ἐλειονόμοι ὑπεδείδισαν· οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν
ἠείδει, οἷος δὲ κατὰ πλατὺ βόσκετο τῖφος.
Αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἰλυόεντος ἀνὰ θρωσμοὺς ποταμοῖο
νίσετ' Ἀβαντιάδης· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔκποθεν ἀφράστοιο
ὕψι μάλ' ἐκ δονάκων ἀνεπάλμενος ἤλασε μηρὸν.

Argonautica 2.818-825

> [For in the marsh by the reedy river, cooling his flanks and enormous belly in the mud, lay a white-tusked boar, a horrible monster, whom even the marsh Nymphs themselves feared; no man knew of it; it foraged alone along the broad marsh. But Abantides was going along the banks of the muddy river. Bursting from somewhere unknown, up out of the reeds, the boar suddenly gored his thigh.]

The omniscient narrator describes the boar in detail, including the location of its hiding place, yet when he goes on to describe the beast's attack on Idmon, he states that it came out of nowhere. The shift from knowledge to ignorance, prepared for by the remark that no human knew about the beast, marks the narrator's assimilation of his characters' personae.[52] By creating this inconsistency, Apollonius simultaneously takes advantage of two literary techniques: suspense and surprise. He informs his audience of the boar's presence, which creates suspense, yet when he reaches the climax of the episode, the boar bursting from its lair, he encourages his audience to feel the surprised terror felt by the Argonauts.

Apollonius' fondness for this technique, especially in connection with the divulgence of information, is well-known. Richard Hunter observes that when Argus informs Aeëtes that the Argonauts are willing to subdue the Sauromatae for him in exchange for the golden fleece, this comes as much of a surprise to the audience as to Aeëtes: "Argos' offer of a quid pro quo is a good example of how A. places his readers in the same position of ignorance as those to whom a speech is addressed. . . . A. refuses to offer the authorial certainty that often results from Homeric technique."[53] E. V. George examines in detail the complex manipulation of information in the episode describing the Argonauts' stay on Lemnos, and notes an assimilation of poet, audience, and characters like that discussed above.[54]

It would be wrong to conclude from these examples that Apollonius always endeavors to submerge his narrator's consciousness within that of his characters. In much of the *Argonautica*, the narrator asserts his presence strongly. The most obvious way for a narrator to lose himself, as it were, is by allowing

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52. This is an excellent example of what Bal would call a change in "focalizer," that is, a change in the point of view—intellectual and emotional—from which the events of the story are presented. See Bal 1985.102-106. For a careful application of Bal's system of narratology to the *Iliad*, see de Jong 1987.

53. Hunter 1989.138.

54. George 1972.48-50, 54, 57.

the characters to do the speaking, yet the *Argonautica* contains a much smaller percentage of lines of directly reported speeches than the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, or even the *Aeneid*.[55] Not only does Apollonius' narrator reserve more of the poetry to be uttered by his own voice than does Homer, but he also allows the narrator to make subjective statements, which Homer seldom does, at least overtly.[56] Although there are times when the narrator of the *Argonautica* seems to lose control of his material and become ἔκφρων and ἔνθεος, there are likewise times when the narrator clearly asserts his control over the presentation of the epic's material. Soon after making his invocation to Phoebus in Book 1, which is to be so important for sustaining the portrayal of the narrator's inspiration throughout the epic, the narrator shows that he is certainly in control of his wits enough not to cover hackneyed subjects. He declares that since other poets have treated the subject of how the *Argo* was built,[57] he will instead go on to relate who the Argonauts were and what they did:

> Νῆα μὲν οὖν οἱ πρόσθεν ἔτι κλείουσιν ἀοιδοὶ
> Ἄργον Ἀθηναίης καμέειν ὑποθημοσύνῃσι.
> Νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην
> ἡρώων δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἁλὸς ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν
> πλαζόμενοι· Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.18-22

> [As for the ship—how Argus built it according to the directions of Athena—the singers of old still celebrate. Now might I relate the lineage and the names of the heroes and the ways of the vast sea and what they did as they wandered. And may the Muses prompt my song.]

These might seem to be not the words of a possessed bard but, rather, those of a literary poet who has done his research, and is taking the credit for the version of the myth that follows; hence the emphatic use of the personal pronoun ἐγώ.

However, one must recognize the nature of divine inspiration as we see it portrayed in the Greek tradition. In the literary sources, inspiration is not presented as completely overwhelming the possessed for as long as that person receives the divine afflatus. Aeschylus' Cassandra (*Agamemnon* 1072-1330), who has visions of the

55. Hunter 1993.138-139.

56. Ibid.101-109.

57. E.g., Epimenides in his *Naupactica* and Antimachus in his *Lyde*.

past and future under the influence of Apollo and seems at times to be transported, never fully loses an awareness of her surroundings. She has moments when her visions are powerful and she appears to be in some sort of ecstasy, and the extraordinary state of her consciousness is indicated by the lyric meters in which she sings. Interspersed among these moments, however, are times when she is more aware of her present circumstances, and at these times she speaks in simple trimeters.[58] In her calmer state, however, she loses none of the knowledge that Phoebus has imparted to her. In this respect, she resembles the Pythia at Delphi, who may have been less manic during her mantic sessions than some authors, both ancient and modern, suppose.[59]

Even Plato's Ion, whom we have been using as the most extreme example of a poet whose consciousness becomes fused with the identity of his characters under the influence of the Muses' inspiration, retains in the midst of his ecstasy enough of his own mercenary consciousness to realize that his audience will reward him handsomely for being an effective conduit of the Muses' power. After Ion confesses to Socrates that he feels the same emotions as his characters, Socrates asks if Ion is aware that he has the power to pass these emotions on to his audience. Ion replies:

> Καὶ μάλα καλῶς οἶδα· καθορῶ γὰρ ἐκάστοτε αὐτοὺς ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κλαίοντάς τε καὶ δεινὸν ἐμβλέποντας καὶ συνθαμβοῦντας τοῖς λεγομένοις. δεῖ γάρ με καὶ σφόδρ' αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν· ὡς ἐὰν μὲν κλαίοντας αὐτοὺς καθίσω, αὐτὸς γελάσομαι ἀργύριον λαμβάνων, ἐὰν δὲ γελῶντας, αὐτὸς κλαύσομαι ἀργύριον ἀπολλύς.
>
> *Ion* 535e
>
> [I know this very well. For at such times, from up on the platform, I see them crying and looking at me intently and being struck by what is said. I must pay close attention to them; if I set them crying, I myself shall laugh once I take their money, but if I cause them to laugh, I shall myself cry, having lost my money.]

Thus we see that the poet whom Socrates claims must be out of his wits (ἔκφρων) when performing is still capable of applying his mind

58. Cf. Denniston and Page 1957.164-166. Cassandra also fluctuates between manic lyrics and more rational iambics in Euripides' *Troiades* 308-461; see Gregory 1991.164. For metrical speech as a sign of divine inspiration, cf. Plato *Phaedrus* 241e.

59. Fontenrose 1978.204-212.

(τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν) to his own situation. So, too, Apollonius at times expresses concerns about how best to present his poem in the mouth of a lucid narrator.[60]

The *Argonautica*'s conclusion contains a final example of the assimilation of narrator's and characters' experiences. The poet ends his work by addressing the Argonauts:

> Ἵλατ' ἀριστῆες, μακάρων γένος, αἵδε δ' ἀοιδαί
> εἰς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτεος γλυκερώτεραι εἶεν ἀείδειν
> ἀνθρώποις· Ἤδη γὰρ ἐπὶ κλυτὰ πείραθ' ἱκάνω
> ὑμετέρων καμάτων, ἐπεὶ οὔ νύ τις ὔμμιν ἄεθλος
> αὖτις ἀπ' Αἰγίνηθεν ἀνερχομένοισιν ἐτύχθη,
> οὔτ' ἀνέμων ἐριῶλαι ἀνέσταθεν, ἀλλὰ ἕκηλοι
> γαῖαν Κεκροπίην παρά τ' Αὐλίδα μετρήσαντες
> Εὐβοίης ἔντοσθεν Ὀπούντιά τ' ἄστεα Λοκρῶν,
> ἀσπασίως ἀκτὰς Παγασηίδας εἰσαπέβητε.
>
> *Argonautica* 4.1773-1781

> [Be gracious, heroes, race of the blessed, and may these songs be sweeter from year to year for men to sing. Now I have arrived at the glorious completion of your labors, since you encountered no further trials after leaving Aegina, or any stormy winds, but having peacefully skirted the Cecropian land, and inside of Euboea, past Aulis and the Opuntian cities of the Locrians, happily you stepped upon the shores of Pagasae.]

Apollonius uses a verb denoting spatial movement, ἱκάνω, to describe the conclusion of the narrator's efforts. In doing so, he aligns the conclusion of his narrative with the end of the heroes' labors, since the Argonauts complete their tasks by arriving home in Greece. The assimilation of narrator and characters then dissolves as the poet reaches his conclusion and adopts the view of a more detached narrator, relating with omniscience that the Argonauts experienced no further trials after their stop on Aegina. Nevertheless, the narrator still directly addresses his characters in the last line of the epic, and this address is typical of the closing of a hymn.[61] The *Argonautica* then, just like the Argonauts who circled the known world before returning

60. Cf. Murray 1981.96-97 on the relationship between inspiration and a poet's own skill as factors in the success of his poetry.

61. Cf. Ἀλλ' ἴληθ' Ἥφαιστε· δίδου δ' ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὄλβον (*Homeric Hymn* 20.8); Ἵληθ' εὐρύοπα Κρονίδη κύδιστε μέγιστε (*Homeric Hymn* 23.4).

home to Greece, comes full circle itself, ending with the hymnic flavor with which it begins.[62]

In the conclusion of his epic, Apollonius alludes to one particular hymn: the great *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (*Homeric Hymn* 3). This hymn, unlike many of the *Homeric Hymns*, was well known in antiquity.[63] Therefore the allusion would have been easily recognizable to Apollonius' original audience. Since Apollo plays such an important role in the *Argonautica*, Apollonius' allusion to the famous celebration of that god's divinity is especially appropriate, but the hymn also contains a passage, echoed by Apollonius, that is relevant for the narrative strategies of Apollonius discussed here. This is the description of the Delian maidens who sang at the god's festival:

> πρὸς δὲ τόδε μέγα θαῦμα, ὅου κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται,
> κοῦραι Δηλιάδες Ἑκατηβελέταο θεράπναι·
> αἵ τ' ἐπεὶ ἂρ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπόλλων' ὑμνήσωσιν,
> αὖτις δ' αὖ Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
> μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν
> ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν, θέλγουσι δὲ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων.
> πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὺν
> μιμεῖσθ' ἴσασιν· φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
> φθέγγεσθ'· οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή.
> αλλ' ἄγεθ' ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
> χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι· ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε
> μνήσασθε, ὁππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
> ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών·
> ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν
> ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;
> ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθ' ἀμφ' ἡμέων·
> τυφλὸς ἀνήρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἔνι παιπαλοέσσῃ,
> τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν ἀοιδαί.
>
> *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 156-173

> [And also there is a great wonder, whose fame will never die, the Delian maidens, servants of the Far-shooter. After they first sing of Apollo, and also of Leto and of Artemis the archer, they sing a song, telling tales of men and women of old, and they charm the

62. M. F. Williams 1991.295-316 argues that the entire *Argonautica* is a "quasi-hymn" in honor of Apollo. This is an attractive idea but for the fact that the god is conspicuously absent throughout all of Book 3.

63. Allen 1963.200.

> races of men. They know how to imitate all people's voices and sounds. Each man would say he himself were speaking, so well is their song fit together. But come, be propitious, Apollo and Artemis, and farewell to you all. Remember me even afterwards, whenever some dweller of the earth, a weary foreigner having come here, should ask: "Maidens, who is the sweetest of singers to visit you here and please you the most?" Answer favorably, all of you, for me: "A blind man, he lives on rocky Chios, whose songs all excel forever."]

As Giuseppe Giangrande observes, Apollonius' wish that his song become sweeter for men to sing in the future recalls the wish of the hymn's poet that the Delian maidens preserve his reputation for poetic skill: "the motifs of the sweetness of epic . . . and the survival of such epic closely coincide."[64] The opening of the *Argonautica*, as well as its conclusion, evokes this passage. Apollonius' declaration, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν μνήσομαι, closely echoes the hymn's description of the Delian maidens: μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν; indeed, Apollonius' φωτῶν, which can denote humans of either sex, could be seen a compression of ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν.[65]

The passage quoted from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is relevant to Apollonius' practice of portraying his narrator as ἔκφρων and ἔνθεος, that is, in ecstasy. In this hymn, the poet expresses admiration for the Deliads' ability to imitate the voices of others: πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς . . . μιμεῖσθ' ἴσασιν. This mimesis probably involved not only an imitation of various Greek dialects,[66] but also a reenactment of earlier poetic performances. The Deliads' activity, however, is much more than simply a repeat performance. As Gregory Nagy demonstrates, it is "the latest in an ongoing series of previous reenactments, ultimately reenacting a given myth."[67] The Deliads in performance are much like Plato's Ion, who is linked to the characters of the Homeric poems he recites.

Thus the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, and specifically the section describing the Deliads, is an especially appropriate text for Apollonius to evoke at the conclusion of his epic, where he addresses his Argonauts as if he were in their presence. The hymn is also

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64. Giangrande 1968.56 n.1.

65. Cf. *Anthologia Palatina* 5.249.5, where φῶς is used of two lovers.

66. Miller 1988.159-160.

67. Nagy 1990a.43-44; cf. ibid.375-377 for the Delian maidens as "local quasi-Muses," akin to Hesiod's Heliconian Muses and opposed to the Panhellenic Olympian Muses of the Homeric poems. See also Nagy 1996.56-57.

appropriate as a subtext here because, like the descriptions of Demodocus and Phemius in the *Odyssey*, it is so emphatically concerned with performance and because Apollonius concludes his epic imagining its performance. Unlike Horace, who prophesies the lasting quality of his *Odes* by casting them as a solid object more durable than brass (*Odes* 3.30), or Ovid, who paradoxically foretells the immutability of his epic about changes by stating that neither divine anger nor the forces of nature will be able to obliterate it (*Metamorphoses* 15.871-872), Apollonius actually expresses a wish that his verses change over time: "may these songs be sweeter from year to year for men to sing." Apollonius envisions for his *Argonautica* a future of performance, such as he knew had been granted Homer since the distant past.

3

The Poet's Voyage

Apollonius begins his epic by paying homage to Phoebus, and Jason begins his voyage by sacrificing to that same deity (1.359-362, 1.402-410). This close correlation between the start of the *Argonautica*'s narrative and the beginning of the Argonauts' voyage is sustained throughout the epic[1] and is another example of the way Apollonius assimilates his narrative persona to his characters. The assimilation of the narrator to Orpheus or Phineus, discussed in the previous chapter, is an easy one to create, since these characters perform the same activity as the poet. The assimilation of the narrator to the seafaring Argonauts as a whole is a more complicated matter, yet the Greek literary tradition provides ample precedent for associating the composition of poetry with a journey.[2]

The earliest Greek poetry employs metaphors of spatial movement to describe the act of speaking. Expressions such as ἐξείπω καὶ πάντα διίξομαι [I will speak out and go through everything] (*Iliad* 9.61) and ἐν μοίρῃ γὰρ πάντα διίκεο καὶ κατέλεξας [fairly did you go through everything and explain it] (*Iliad* 19.186) depict speech as a passage, "ein Durchgehen durch die verschiedenen Dinge der Wirklichkeit," in the words of Otfrid Becker.[3] Later poets, especially Pindar, elaborated on the idea of speech as a journey and, what is particularly relevant for the *Argonautica*, sometimes imagined progess through a poem as a sea voyage.

Pindar's *Nemean* 4 contains several instances of such imagery. The most striking occurs when Pindar compares an attempt to relate all the stories connected with the descendants of Aeacus to a sea voyage passing beyond Gadeira, the end of the known world. Both attempts

1. Goldhill 1991.287.

2. The influence of shamanism is probably behind the frequent use of metaphors of journeying in Greek poetry. See West 1971.225-226, 1983.146-147; see also Garner 1992.

3. Becker 1937.68.

would result in disaster, being beyond human capabilities (69-72). Similarly, in *Pythian* 11.38-40, Pindar worries that he has strayed in his subject matter, and he expresses this with a nautical metaphor: ἤ με τις ἄνεμος ἔξω πλόου / ἔβαλεν, ὡς ὅτ' ἄκατον ἐνναλίαν [or has some wind blown me off course like a ship on the sea?].[4] A poet can invoke his patron deity to help him complete this metaphorical sea voyage; Bacchylides (12.1-4) asks the Muse to direct his wits [like a skillful pilot] κυβερνήτας σοφός.

Like Bacchylides' Muse, Apollonius' Phoebus has nautical connections. His associations with seafaring in the *Argonautica* have counterparts in actual Greek cult; in addition to being a god of poetry and prophecy, Apollo was worshipped as a deity who protected sailors.[5] The seafaring aspect of Apollo's cult probably occurred as an extension of Delphi's role in directing colonization; the god who commanded his worshippers to set out across the seas would naturally be called upon to protect the colonists on their journey.[6] Phoebus' oracle likewise sends the Argonauts traversing foreign waters, and Jason reminds the god of this when sacrificing to him:

> Κλῦθι, ἄναξ Παγασάς τε πόλιν τ' Αἰσωνίδα ναίων
> ἠμετέροιο τοκῆος ἐπώνυμον, ὅς μοι ὑπέστης
> Πυθοῖ χρειομένῳ ἄνυσιν καὶ πείραθ' ὁδοῖο
> σημανέειν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπαίτιος ἔπλευ ἀέθλων.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.411-414

> [Hear me, lord who dwells in Pagasae and the city Aesonis, named after my father, you who, when I consulted your oracle at Pytho, promised me success and guidance to the end of the voyage, since you yourself are responsible for my labors.]

Jason sacrifices to Apollo Ἄκτιος, "Apollo of the Shore," and Ἐμβάσιος, "Apollo who Favors Embarkation" (1.404). Ἄκτιος is a title that was actually employed in shoreline cults of the deity throughout

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4. Similar nautical metaphors occur in Pindar at *Nemean* 3.26-27, 5.51, 6.28; *Pythian* 2.63; 10.51-52. Cf. Becker 1937.71-72; Steiner 1986.66-75.

5. A story attached to a contemporary of Apollonius, Seleucus II (265-226 B.C.), illustrates Apollo's nautical connections. Justinus (15.4.1-2) relates that Seleucus' mother, Laodice, dreamed that Apollo slept with her and that having become pregnant, she received from him a ring whose stone contained the representation of an anchor. This ring was to be given to the baby once it was born. Not only was just such a ring found in Laodice's bed after Seleucus' birth, but the baby himself was distinguished by an anchor-shaped birthmark on his thigh, testimony to his divine parentage.

6. Farnell 1907.vol. 4, 145.

Greece.[7] Ἐμβάσιος is also attested outside of literary sources, but not until the time of the Roman Empire.[8] However, Pausanias (*Periegesis* 2.32.2) refers to a shrine of Ἀπόλλων Ἐπιβατήριος, which Diomedes, having escaped a storm encountered on his return from Troy, supposedly dedicated to the god. Ἐμβάσιος may be the epic poet's attempt to express Ἐπιβατήριος, which cannot be made to fit into dactylic hexameter.[9] Other epithets in the *Argonautica* that indicate Apollo's connections with the sea are Ἐκβάσιος, "Who Favors Disembarking" (1.966, 1.1186) and Νησσόος, "Savior of Ships" (2.927).

The most famous title of Apollo in his seafaring aspect in historical times was Δελφίνιος. Plutarch (*de Soll. Anim.* 984b) states that many Greek states had shrines dedicated to this aspect of the god, and this is borne out by the epigraphic evidence.[10] The title is probably connected with δελφίς, since dolphins were thought to be beneficial to seafarers;[11] Apollonius himself refers to dolphins as a thing of joy for sailors (ναύτῃσι χάρμα, 4.933). Whether this is the true origin of the epithet or not, the connection was made in the literary tradition. It is in the form of a dolphin that Apollo guides the Cretan sailors to Delphi in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (3.400),[12] and Callimachus, in one of his lyric poems (*Branchus* fr. 229.12-13), also traces the origin of Apollo's epithet to the cetacean.

Apollonius himself nowhere applies the title Δελφίνιος to Apollo. However, he does describe the origin of a ritual sacred to Apollo Delphinios, the Ὑδροφόρια. This was a water-carrying race held in Aegina during the month which also bore the name Δελφίνιος.[13] The Argonauts institute this very ritual at 4.1765-1772, their final action described at any length in the epic. A ritualistic ring composition is

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7. Ibid.

8. The epithet is found on Ephesian coins dating from the Roman imperial period. See ibid.368, n.36.

9. The epithet is not, however, unique to Apollonius but also appears in Callimachus' treatment of the Argonaut story in the *Aetia* (fr. 18.12).

10. For a list of inscriptions mentioning Apollo Delphinios, see Farnell 1907.vol. 4, 367, n.4.

11. Nilsson 1941.vol. 1, 523; Chantraine 1968, s.v. δελφίς.

12. The poet is, of course, also playing on the similarity of δελφίς to Δελφοί, but the words are not etymologically related. See Chantraine 1968, s.v. Δελφοί.

13. Scholion to Pindar *Nemean* 5.81b: μεὶς ἐπιχώριος (παρ' Αἰγινήταις) ὁ Δελφίνιος μὴν καλούμενος, καθ' ὃν τελεῖται Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγὼν Ὑδροφόρια καλούμενος [Month called locally by the Aeginetans "Delphinios," during which the festival of Apollo called the Hydrophoria is celebrated]. For further references, see Preller 1894.vol. 1, 258, n.2.

formed: The Argonauts begin and complete their long voyage with rites in honor of Apollo in his aspect as a patron of seafarers. At the same time, Apollonius' poem begins and ends with homage paid to the divine inspirer of his poetry, who is this same deity.[14]

Apollonius does not specifically describe the Argonauts' Ὑδροφόρια as a festival in honor of Apollo. For the heroes, the hurried carrying of water is an act not of worship but of necessity, as the poet tells us explicitly: ἄμφω γὰρ χρειώ τε καὶ ἄσπετος οὖρος ἔπειγεν (4.1769). Since it is the nature of an *aition* to explain a long-standing tradition in terms of a temporary exigency in the distant past,[15] this does not obscure the connection with Apollo. A similar example occurs a few lines earlier, where Apollonius explains the origin of another custom associated with Apollo's worship (4.1717-1730). The Argonauts had few provisions when they landed on the island of Anaphe, and so the sacrifice they scraped together for Apollo was meager, at best. The sight of this paltry offering incurred the good-natured teasing of Medea's Phaeacian handmaidens, who were accustomed to much grander sacrifices. Hence the custom on Anaphe of women casting playful reproaches upon the men during sacrifice to Apollo.[16]

The sacrifice on Anaphe has much in common with the water-carrying race on Aegina. The sacrifice is made in thanks to Apollo for benefits he had bestowed in his role as a patron deity of seafarers. Upon departure from Crete, darkness had enveloped the *Argo*, the sailors called upon Apollo for help, and Jason promised the god many sacrifices in return for his aid (4.1690-1705). Phoebus appeared to them, bringing with him gleaming light to illuminate the Argonauts' way. The Argonauts therefore build an altar to him when they reach Anaphe (so named because near here Apollo had appeared—ἀνέφηνε,

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14. The *Argonautica*, then, carefully constructs an association between Apollo's aspect as a god of poets and his role as a protector of seafarers, but this is not the first time these aspects of Apollo's cult were combined in the Greek tradition. It is reasonable to conjecture that the story of Arion (Herodotus 1.23-24), a poet who is rescued at sea by a dolphin, is at least partly a product of these traditions concerning Apollo. I thank John Nicols for pointing this out to me.

15. Cf. the unburned sacrifices made on Rhodes; their origin was ascribed to the thoughtlessness of the island's early inhabitants, who forgot to bring fire to the site of sacrifice. See Pindar *Olympian* 7.45-47; Diodorus Siculus 5.56. Apollonius himself had treated this *aition* in his *Foundation of Rhodes*, but gave a different explanation. See fr. 11 Powell. Fraser 1970.vol. 2, 894 n.130, gives bibliography. Similar aetiological explanations of cult practices are discussed by Nilsson 1964.62-66.

16. Apollonius probably borrowed this *aition* from Callimachus. See pp. 125-128 below.

4.1718 — to them), and call upon him as Αἰγλήτης because of the light, αἴγλη, that he had brought them. The next stop in the Argonauts' voyage is Aegina, where the Argonauts institute the Ὑδροφόρια. Thus Apollo in his aspect of a benefactor of sailors can be easily recalled in connection with the passage describing the Ὑδροφόρια. Finally, this same event was described in connection with the Argonauts by Callimachus in his iambic poetry, and so we may assume that an Alexandrian audience would be familiar enough with the ritual to make the connection with Apollo.[17] Just as Apollo's connections with both poetry and prophecy make it possible for Apollonius to link the origin of the voyage closely with the origin of his poetic inspiration, so the god's ties to seafaring enable the poet to make similarly close ties between the progress of the voyage and the progress of the poetry.

Apollonius also encourages his audience to link the Argonauts' voyage with a poetic performance by describing the voyage with words and images that evoke connections with poetry. Apollonius practices this emphatically when he depicts the very beginning of the *Argo*'s voyage. When the heroes first leave the harbor of Pagasae, the poet describes them as follows:

> Οἱ δ', ὥς τ' ἠίθεοι Φοίβῳ χορὸν ἢ ἐνὶ Πυθοῖ
> ἤ που ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ ἢ ἐφ' ὕδασιν Ἰσμηνοῖο
> στησάμενοι, φόρμιγγος ὑπαὶ περὶ βωμὸν ὁμαρτῇ
> ἐμμελέως, κραιπνοῖσι πέδον ῥήσσωσι πόδεσσιν·
> ὣς οἱ ὑπ' Ὀρφῆος κιθάρῃ πέπληγον ἐρετμοῖς
> πόντου λάβρον ὕδωρ, ἐπὶ δὲ ῥόθια κλύζοντο.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.536-541

> [And they, just as young men performing a dance in honor of Phoebus, in Pytho or perhaps in Ortygia, or by the waters of Ismenus, in unison about the altar beat the ground harmoniously with their swift feet to the accompaniment of the lyre, so they, accompanied by Orpheus' cithara, struck the seething water of the sea with their oars, and the waves surged over the blades.]

17. See *Iambus* 8 fr. 198. It is also possible that Apollo Delphinios figured somehow in the *Hecale*, since he is tied to events with which that poem is concerned. According to Plutarch, Medea's foiled attempt to poison Theseus occurred on the spot where a temple to Apollo Delphinios was later built (*Theseus* 12.6.3) and where Theseus sacrificed the Marathonian Bull to Apollo Delphinios (*Theseus* 14.1.4). The site of the temple has been excavated. See Travlos 1971.83-90.

The Argonauts, rowing to the strains of Orpheus, are likened to performers at a festival dance. Such dances are of course accompanied not merely by instruments but by song, that is, poetry. The realization of this leads to playful implications. The Argonauts are said to be like participants in a poetic performance, when actually they are the subject of one, the poet's own. Apollonius strains the convention of the simile, since he likens the journey to a poetic performance, when in fact it is one. The connection is further encouraged by the specification that the god honored by the simile's dance is Phoebus, the very god invoked at the start of the epic.

The connection between sea travel and poetry appears again in the simile that concludes the description of the *Argo*'s outset. The poet describes fish following the ship in order to listen to Orpheus' song and compares them to a flock of sheep following its shepherd's piping:

> Τοῖσι δὲ φορμίζων εὐθήμονι μέλπεν ἀοιδῇ
> Οἰάγροιο πάις Νησσόον εὐπατέρειαν
> Ἄρτεμιν, ἣ κείνας σκοπιὰς ἁλὸς ἀμφιέπεσκε
> ῥυομένη καὶ γαῖαν Ἰωλκίδα. Τοὶ δὲ βαθείης
> ἰχθύες ἀίσσοντες ὑπὲξ ἁλός, ἄμμιγα παύροις
> ἄπλετοι, ὑγρὰ κέλευθα διασκαίροντες ἔποντο.
> ὡς δ' ὁπότ' ἀγραύλοιο κατ' ἴχνια σημαντῆρος
> μυρία μῆλ' ἐφέπονται ἄδην κεκορημένα ποίης
> εἰς αὖλιν, ὁ δέ τ' εἶσι πάρος, σύριγγι λιγείῃ
> καλὰ μελιζόμενος νόμιον μέλος· ὣς ἄρα τοί γε
> ὠμάρτευν· τὴν δ' αἰὲν ἐπασσύτερος φέρεν οὖρος.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.569-579

> [For the Argonauts, the son of Oeagrus, playing his lyre, sang in harmonious song about Artemis, the nobly born Savior of Ships, who inhabited those seaside cliffs and the Iolcian land, keeping them in her protection. And the fish, flashing up from the deep sea, huge ones together with small, darted about as they followed the watery paths. As when countless sheep, having had their fill of grass, follow the footsteps of their rustic leader to the fold, and he goes in front, beautifully piping a pastoral song on his shrill reed, so the fish were flocking together, and the breeze was always carrying the ship further.]

By means of this simile, Apollonius emphasizes the continuity of the fishes' accompaniment of the *Argo*; they are like sheep that follow the shepherd all the way to the fold. The poet likewise emphasizes that all

the while Orpheus plays his music and the fish follow, the breeze continuously (αἰέν) furthers the progress of the ship. The continuity of both Orpheus' song and the blowing of the breeze, the sense of which is underscored by the imperfect tense of the verbs (μέλπεν, ὠμάρτευν, φέρεν), invites one to associate the forward movement of the ship with the composition of poetry. Thus, the two similes that frame this scene, the one comparing the Argonauts to dancers honoring Apollo and the one likening the fish to sheep following the piping shepherd, encourage the association between the subject of the *Argonautica* and the medium by which it is conveyed.

This association is also encouraged in the midst of the passage, when Apollonius describes the breeze that fills the sails as λιγύς (1.566). Apollonius' choice of adjective has precedents in Homer, who sometimes refers to winds as such (*Iliad* 13.334, 14.17, 15.620; *Odyssey* 3.176, 3.289, 4.17). However, this adjective, both in and after Homer, is more often applied to words connected with music and poetry, such as the lyre (*Iliad* 9.186, 18.569; *Odyssey* 8.67, 8.254, 8.261, 8.537, 22.232, 23.133) or the flute (Euripides *Heracles* 892), the Sirens (Alcman 30 *PMG*; *Argonautica* 4.892), and especially the Muses (*Odyssey* 24.62; Alcman 14 *PMG*; Stesichorus 240 *PMG*; Plato, *Phaedrus* 237a). Apollonius also applies it to ἀοιδή in 2.704, describing another song of Orpheus. The appearance of this adjective further encourages the audience to link the voyage with poetry.

Still, since there are Homeric precedents for using λιγύς to describe winds, even an attentive audience might not have any reason to suspect the word carries special significance in the passage, at least not until coming upon the simile of the sheep and the shepherd. Here, Apollonius uses λιγύς to describe the shepherd's instrument, the syrinx. Apollonius uses this adjective sparingly throughout the *Argonautica*, and so its appearance two times in such close proximity should alert a perceptive audience. By using this adjective to describe the breeze pushing the *Argo* and also the pipe of the simile's shepherd, Apollonius invites his audience to make a connection between the wind in the *Argo*'s sails and the wind instrument, to associate the voyage again with music and poetry. The choice of the syrinx for the simile is especially appropriate; not only is this the conventional instrument of shepherds, but the pipe is the instrument most like a sailing vessel. The sound of the syrinx is created when air is forced through it, just as the *Argo* functions when a breath of air on a larger scale, a breeze, fills its sails.

Apollonius' assimilation of wind and poetic creation is a natural one for a poet working within the Greek tradition, which associated poetry with the movement of air since its earliest history. As its Latinate translation indicates, "inspiration" is "breathed into" a poet, like a breath of air. Hesiod makes this explicit when he says that the Muses breathed a divine voice into him: ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν θέσπιν (*Theogony* 31-32). Pindar builds on this same principle when he calls the Muse ἀδύπνοος [sweetly breathing] (*Olympian* 13.22) or portrays himself in the act of composing poetry as influenced by καλλιρόοισι πνοαῖς [beautifully flowing breezes] (*Olympian* 6.83).[18] At *Pythian* 4.3, the poet asks the Muse to foster his οὖρον ὕμνων [wind of songs].[19] This Pindaric parallel is most germane to Apollonius for a variety of reasons. Pindar's metaphor employs the same word for wind, οὖρος, as does Apollonius in the passage describing the outset of the *Argo*. Moreover, *Pythian* 4 is an important model for the *Argonautica*, since it, too, deals with the Argonaut saga. Elsewhere Apollonius makes clear verbal allusions to Pindar's poem; his invocation to Erato in *Argonautica* 3 is based very closely on the invocation of Pindar's poem, which contains the metaphor quoted above.[20]

The obvious assimilation of sea travel and poetry at the very outset of the voyage prepares the audience for additional instances of this phenomenon throughout the epic. At 4.450-451, the poet asks how Medea came to destroy her brother: Πῶς γὰρ δὴ μετιόντα κακ' ἐδάμασσεν ὀλέθρῳ / Ἄψυρτον; He then explains why he must now address this subject: τὸ γὰρ ἡμιν ἐπισχερὼ ἦεν ἀοιδῆς [for this has been next in our song]. The imperfect tense of the verb here is an example of the use of the imperfect to describe something that not only is true in the present but has been true all along and is just now recognized.[21] This implies that the plot of the *Argonautica* is like the route of a journey, which exists in and of itself. Just as the locations making up the points of a journey have a spatial existence whether or not they are actually visited by travelers, so Apollonius invites us to imagine that the incidents forming the plot of the *Argonautica* are like the

18. These Pindaric examples are discussed by Steiner 1986.73.

19. Cf. *Nemean* 6.26, οὖρον ἐπέων.

20. See pp. 90-92 below for a fuller discussion of Pindar's importance for the invocation of *Argonautica* 3.

21. Cf. Smyth 1920.§1902.

points of a voyage waiting for the poet's arrival.[22] Also important in this statement is the poet's use of the first person plural, ἡμιν. This should be taken quite literally, not as an ambiguous poetic plural; the poem is waiting not only for the poet to work his way through it but also for the audience to experience its completion.

Apollonius does not, however, present his task as a simple chore needing only time to complete, any more than he depicts the Argonauts' voyage as an easy one. At times, both voyage and epic seem to be on the brink of disaster. When the Argonauts, attempting to escape the Colchians, have entered the fantastic, interconnecting system of European rivers, they are at one point in danger of entering the stream of Ocean. As Apollonius explains, having once entered Ocean, they would have had little chance of ever reaching home. The *Argonautica* would have equally bleak chances for a successful completion. Fortunately, Hera appears and sets them on the right course:

> Ἄψ δὲ παλιντροπόωντο θεᾶς ὕπο, καί ῥ' ἐνόησαν
> τὴν οἶμον τῇ πέρ τε καὶ ἔπλετο νόστος ἰοῦσι.
>
> *Argonautica* 4.643-644

> [They were turned back around by the goddess, and they found the path by which there would be a return home for them.]

Like λιγύς in the passage discussed earlier, οἶμος is a loaded term. Because of its similarity to οἴμη, a Homeric word for poetry, οἶμος conjures associations with poetry as no other word for path or route can.[23] The audience is again invited to associate the Argonauts' progress with the poet's execution of his poetry. Hera provides the Argonauts with the proper route home, and Apollonius with a path leading to the completion of his epic. Pindar again provides a precedent. The Argonauts' turning away from the path leading to

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22. Beye 1982.16 perceives that Apollonius imagines the story line as simply waiting for the poet to work his way through it. Beye chooses to describe Apollonius' technique with twentieth-century imagery: "Apollonius asks us to imagine that the ensuing narrative has already been worked out, like the footage of a film waiting to be run through the projector."

23. The connection is made easier by the appearance of the word οἴμη earlier at 4.150, the only time it occurs in the *Argonautica*. In fact, even οἶμος occurs only in Book 4 (lines 43, 296, 644, 838, 1510, 1541) and is usually associated with uncertainty about the correct path to follow. The reasons for this will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Ocean back toward Europe is reminiscent of Pindar's refusal to embark on a poem about all the descendants of Aeacus:

> Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατόν· ἀπότρεπε
> αὖτις Εὐρώπαν ποτὶ χέρσον ἔντεα ναός·
> ἄπορα γὰρ λόγον Αἰακοῦ
> παίδων τὸν ἅπαντά μοι διελθεῖν.
>
> *Nemean* 4.69-72

> [One must not cross over to the darkness beyond Gadeira; turn the rigging of your ship back toward the mainland of Europe: it is impossible for me to go through the whole story of Aeacus' sons.]

Apollonius' desire to identify the execution of his poem with the progress of the Argonauts' voyage lies behind the strictly linear progression of the epic: The *Argonautica*'s narrative precisely follows the chronological order of the Argonauts' adventures. This simple, chronological arrangement is one way in which Apollonius presents the narrator as being closely aligned with his characters, and his experience as nearly identical with theirs, since this is the order in which one normally relates his or her own experiences. For example, when Odysseus relates his adventures to Penelope near the end of the *Odyssey*, he enumerates them in chronological order (23.310-341). The arrangement of Odysseus' narrative stands in sharp contrast to the overall arrangement of the *Odyssey*, which is much more temporally complex. As Simon Goldhill remarks, Odysseus' "narrative within the narrative . . . marks the text as a composed, a constructive artifice."[24] Jason, the hero of the *Argonautica*, is also shown recounting his experiences. At 2.762-771, he tells Lycus the adventures the Argonauts have had up to that point, from Pelias' command to undertake the voyage to the heroes' recent encounter with Apollo. The order of Jason's tale is strictly chronological, and this is emphasized by the adverb ἑξείης (2.771) used to describe his narration. Unlike Odysseus' narrative within Homer's, Jason's narrative is exactly parallel with that of Apollonius. As Hermann Fränkel observes, Jason recites for his host, as it were, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius.[25] Thus Jason's narrative, far from calling attention to Apollonius' artifice (as Odysseus' account highlights Homer's), reinforces the sense that the narrator's experience is identical to that of his character's, since both

24. Goldhill 1991.49.

25. Fränkel 230 on 1.761-777.

hero and poet adopt the same narrative technique. Apollonius also sounds a sly note of self-approbation for his narrative style by saying that Jason's audience, Lycus, enjoyed the step-by-step narration: ὁ δ' ἐξείης ἐνέποντος / θέλγετ' ἀκουῇ θυμόν (2.771-772).[26]

Apollonius' manipulation of Jason's narrative within his own, which makes the poet seem to relate the story in an unassuming, simplistic fashion, is an instance where *ars latet arte*. Apollonius employs other clever artifices to create the illusion that he is involved with the experiences of the Argonauts in an immediate way, and these techniques deserve further discussion. When examining the relationship between the events that Apollonius narrates and the manner in which he narrates them, it will be expedient to employ some of the narratological terminology developed by Gérard Genette.[27] Genette distinguishes narrative into three components: the "story" (*histoire*), which is the order in which the events of a plot "actually" happened; the "narrative" (*récit*), which is the order in which the author arranges these events; and the "narrating" (*narration*), which concerns the author's act of creating the narrative. Employing these terms in an analysis of the *Aeneid*, we observe that the order of Aeneas' wanderings according to the story is: (1) departure from Troy; (2) arrival in Carthage; and (3) arrival in Italy. The arrangement of Virgil's narrative, on the other hand, is: (1) arrival in Carthage; (2) departure from Troy; and (3) arrival in Italy. Narrating refers to those parts of the epic that describe the act of producing a narrative, such as Aeneas' account of his experiences in Books 2 and 3. As Genette says, narrating

> refer[s] to an event: not, however, the event that is recounted, but the event that consists of someone recounting something: the act of narrating taken in itself. We thus say that Books IX-XII of the *Odyssey* are devoted to the narrative of Ulysses in the same way that we say Book XXII is devoted to the slaughter of the suitors.[28]

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26. Apollonius also associates θέλγω with the effect of his own poetry, as is discussed at length in the next chapter.

27. Genette 1980.27. What is presented here is but one aspect of Apollonius' narrative technique. For a more complete narratological discussion of the *Argonautica*, refer to Fusillo 1985, who incorporates Genette's studies in a comprehensive study of Apollonius' narrative strategies.

28. Genette 1980.26.

I will also use the term "narrating" to describe those passages in which the poet refers self-consciously to his own act of composition, as in an invocation.

The *Aeneid* and *Odyssey* provide a clear contrast to Apollonius' technique. Whereas Homer and Virgil avoid a strict parallelism between narrative and story,[29] Apollonius strives for an exact correlation. It is worth noting that after Virgil makes the *Aeneid*'s second invocation in Book 7, an invocation that is unmistakably modeled on Apollonius' invocation to Erato in *Argonautica* 3,[30] he abandons the chronological juggling of the first half of his epic and adopts a more linear, one could say more Apollonian, progression.[31]

Numerous scholars have noted the strictly chronological arrangement of Apollonius' narrative technique. Hermann Fränkel, without stating it in such terms, recognizes an exact correlation between narrative and story when he remarks, "The narrative moves slowly, . . . skipping no stage in the plodding progress of the Argonauts."[32] Friedrich Mehmel, when discussing Valerius Flaccus' decision not to follow Apollonius' precedent and place his catalogue of heroes near the very beginning of his epic, notes that the Alexandrian poet is extremely reluctant to deviate from a strictly chronological progression.[33] J. F. Carspecken perceives the significance of the catalogue's placement:

> Apollonius may have wanted to introduce his heroes in such a fashion that this introduction would seem to be part of the action. . . . It is a natural transition from [the catalogue] to the procession of heroes from the city to . . . Pagasae. The catalogue has in this way become part of the action rather than a digression from it.[34]

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29. Genette 1980.36 claims that this lack of correlation between the order of the events of the story and of the narrative in Homer established a precedent for the subsequent Western tradition. Cf., however, his modification of this statement in Genette 1988.29-30.

30. Virgil's invocation is quoted and discussed on pp. 95-96 below.

31. I thank James Tatum for pointing this out to me.

32. Fränkel 1952. 144-154, especially 154.

33. Mehmel 1934.10-12; cf. Fusillo 1985.185-186.

34. Carspecken 1952, especially p. 57. Carspecken acknowledges that Kaibel 1887 had realized this many years earlier when he said that Apollonius "non enim qui adfuerint narrat, sed qui convenerint, non quasi narretur, sed quasi agatur." Cf., however, Beye 1969.35-36.

Carspecken shows that the lengthy catalogue plays an important role in linking the story of the narrative with the execution of the narrative. He claims that for this reason the catalogue should not be thought of as a digression. A similar case can be argued for many other digressions that seem to have little to do with the main thread of the narrative. Although the subjects of these digressions may have only a tangential relevance for the main action, the digressions themselves often play a part in the poet's strategy for assimilating the experience of the *Argonautica*'s characters to his own experience and to that of his audience.

The rather long digression on the origin of the Etesian Winds (2.500-528) at first seems to be without significance, so that even a scholar who claims to give proper treatment to the often neglected Books 1 and 2 of the *Argonautica* judges it to be superfluous.[35] However, this digression on these winds occurs at a point in the narrative where the Argonauts are forced to delay their voyage because the Etesian Winds oppose their progress. Thus Argonauts, poet, and audience are forced to delay their progress at the same time, for the same reason. Simon Goldhill recognizes this when he says that Apollonius makes a, "joke of self-reflexively delaying the narrative journey with such a lengthy description of the origin of the delay."[36]

Winds are a common cause of delay, yet few have such an interesting history behind them as do the Etesian Winds; Apollonius could not always rely on a digression about the winds themselves to mirror the delay experienced by the Argonauts. At 1.1078, fierce winds render the sea unfit for sailing. The Argonauts learn that they can stop the winds by performing rites to the Great Mother. Apollonius then describes these rites in some detail (1.1117-1151). This lengthy description mirrors the long delay caused by the adverse winds. Similarly, when the Argonauts are forced to put in to shore at the mouth of the river Thermodon because of rough seas, Apollonius reflects the delay in their progress by digressing on the unusual characteristics of the river (2.970-984).

In such examples, Apollonius not only creates an exact correlation between narrative and story but also includes the narrating in this union, since the delay in his activity as narrator mirrors the delay experienced in the progress of the story; the narrator constructs an

35. Levin 1971.5. Cf. Beye 1982.99, who calls this passage "description for description's sake."

36. Goldhill 1991.325.

"isochrony" between the events in the story and those in the narrative. This narrative technique is rather more difficult to analyze than a correlation between the order of events in the story and that in the narrative, simply because there is no standard by which to measure the duration of a narrative and so any correlation between the duration of the narrative and the events of the story it relates must be impressionistic, at least in the epic genre.[37] Still, Apollonius' use of digressions in his narrative, in which the nexus of story, narrative, and narrating is especially tight, is clearly another manifestation of the character blending observed in the earlier part of this study, since it constitutes an assimilation of the poet's activity to that of his characters.[38]

Some digressions are more closely tied to the plot than others. During their flight from Colchis, the Argonauts land near the River Halys and ponder the instructions that Phineus had given them concerning their return voyage (4.253-256). Phineus had advised them to return home by a route different from the one which they had followed on their way to Colchis. None of the Argonauts have any notion of what this alternate route may be. Argus, the son of Phrixus, tells them of the system of interconnecting rivers that they may follow to return to Greece. He also, in the manner of a historian,[39] tells them the source of this knowledge and how he came to acquire it. Argus' speech (4.256-293) lasts almost forty lines and contains much extraneous information; he speaks for twenty-five lines before finally getting around to describing the route they should take. Argus' tedious verbosity parallels the delay experienced by the Argonauts at this point. The digressive speech also increases the suspense of the moment; immediately before the Argonauts stop near the Halys, Apollonius describes Aeëtes sending a huge force of Colchians to pursue the heroes (4.236-240). The poet underscores the threat by appealing to his audience to imagine the size of the fleet and by describing it with a vivid simile: οὐδέ κε φαίης / τόσσον νηίτην στόλον ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' οἰωνῶν / ἰλαδὸν ἄσπετον ἔθνος ἐπιβρομέειν πελάγεσσιν

37. On the difficulties of measuring the duration of a narrative, cf. Genette 1980.86-88, 1988.33-37; Bal 1985.68-69.

38. Cf. Genette 1980.99-106 for instances in modern works where a pause in the narrative reflects a character's activity.

39. Not surprisingly, since one of Apollonius' sources for this passage is probably Herodotus 2.102-106. See Vian 3 on 4.276; Fusillo 1985.52-54. Fränkel 475, on 4.256A-93, remarks, "Auf Argos projiziert Ap. eine moderne quellenkritische Methodik."

[You wouldn't think it was a fleet of ships, but an enormous flock of birds that stormed in droves over the seas]. Just as one would imagine the Argonauts are aware that they are losing time as they listen to Argus drone on, so the audience is encouraged to remember that the Colchians are in hot pursuit. Immediately after the Argonauts have decided to follow the route suggested by Argus, Apollonius returns to describing the Colchians (Κόλχοι δ'. . .), showing that the sense of urgency he created was justified (4.303). This digression is one of the most effective in the *Argonautica*. Not only does it mirror the delay and create suspense, but its appearance is less contrived than some, since it is crucial for advancing the plot; the Argonauts must, of course, learn where this alternate route is before they can follow it. Moreover, Argus is behaving true to his character, since he had displayed similar verbosity in his address to Aeëtes earlier in the epic (3.320-366).[40]

At 4.596-626, Apollonius includes a digression on Phaethon, the son of Helius who met a tragic end because he attempted to drive his father's celestial chariot. The digression appears here because the Argonauts are nearing the spot where Phaethon crashed to earth, yet the digression is tied to the plot by more than this one thread; it also alludes to their reason for being in that location. The Argonauts are near the crash site because Hera is guiding them to the Tyrrhenian Sea so that they may visit Circe. The goddess wishes to direct them there because Zeus has decreed that he will not allow the Argonauts to return home before Jason and Medea are purified by Circe of Apsyrtus' murder (4.558-561). The Argonauts learn the will of Zeus from the *Argo*'s speaking beam of oak, just as they are approaching the location of the fallen Phaethon (4.580-591).

Apollonius encourages associations between the digression on Phaethon and the reason the Argonauts must visit Circe, the death of Apsyrtus, by associating Apsyrtus with Phaethon. The most obvious link between the two men is their common name: Apsyrtus was also known by the name of Phaethon (3.245, 3.1236). It is not especially surprising that a name meaning "Shining" should be applied to both a son and a grandson of the sun god Helius, and Apollonius was not the

40. Campbell 1982.30, in reference to this first speech, remarks that, "Argos proves himself . . . to be insufferably wordy, his style as unappealingly florid and circumlocutory as any tragic messenger's."

only author to ascribe the name to Apsyrtus.[41] Nevertheless, Apollonius is at pains to ensure that his audience does not dismiss the association between the son of Aeëtes and the son of Helius. The description of Apsyrtus acting as the charioteer of his father Aeëtes (3.1235-1239, 4.224-225) creates another analogy between this Phaethon and the Phaethon who took the place of his father Helius in driving the chariot of the sun.[42] In the passage in Book 4 that describes Apsyrtus in this capacity, Apollonius includes the detail that Aeëtes' horses were a gift of Helius (4.220-221), and this further encourages the association between the two Phaethons. Finally, Phaethon, the son of Helius, met his death because he was infatuated with the prospect of controlling the dazzling sun, much as Apsyrtus is ambushed while he thinks he is about to recover another dazzling object, the golden fleece (4.438-440), which possesses many of the same properties as the sun.[43] By means of all these correspondences between the two Phaethons, a mirror image of Jason and Medea's crime haunts the Argonauts just after they are told they must atone for the murder of Apsyrtus. In this manner, Apollonius' digression on Phaethon strengthens the causal relationship between the Argonauts' wanderings later in Book 4 and their actions in the earlier part of the book.[44] The digression also functions much as the other digressions discussed above; the Argonauts' journey to visit Circe takes them far in the opposite direction from their homeland, and so the digression on Phaethon reflects this delay in the heroes' progress.

Just as Apollonius is careful to reflect delays in the voyage with digressions in his narrative, he is reluctant to place digressions where they would be inappropriate. Such instances are where the *Argo* is making swift progress. After their long delay in Lemnos, and a shorter one in Samothrace, the Argonauts make good time reaching the Hellespont. Thus the locations they pass are merely mentioned by name, even a place so fertile for digression as Troy (Δαρδανίη,

41. The name is also found in the *Scythica* of Timonax (842 *FGrH*). That work's date is too uncertain—as is the date of the *Argonautica*'s composition—to state with any confidence whether Timonax or Apollonius first used this name for Apsyrtus. Presumably both drew on an earlier tradition. We might compare the name of one of Helius' horses, Aithops ("Fiery"), which appeared in the Cyclic *Titanomachia* (F 4B).

42. Vian 2 on 3.246; cf. Fusillo 1985.42-43.

43. See especially 4.172-173, 4.1145.

44. Cf. Beye 1982.164-165.

1.931).[45] As the *Argo* cuts swiftly across the Black Sea in Book 2, the eagle that is Prometheus' tormentor passes overhead (2.1251). Apollonius does not include any digression on the story of Prometheus' punishment, since this would distort the sense of progress that the Argonauts are making.[46] As the heroes swiftly return across the Black Sea on the way back (4.300-302), there is no digression whatsoever, and this underscores the haste with which the Argonauts are trying to escape the Colchians. Sailing along a coastline provides an opportunity for limited digressions on the peoples inhabiting the shores, as in 2.1000-1029. These descriptions are not long enough to disrupt the sense of movement, but are like brief glimpses of spots along the shore from a passing boat.[47]

Apollonius' practice of mirroring delays in the Argonauts' progress with narrative digressions is not, however, completely invariable. Occasionally, no digression appears where we should have expected one. At 4.1232-1235, a vicious north wind blows the *Argo* off course for nine days and nine nights, until the heroes reach the Syrtis in North Africa. Apollonius makes no attempt to mirror this huge digression in the Argonauts' progress with an excursus of any kind but simply describes what happened in four curt lines. The detail of nine days and nights is taken from the *Odyssey*; nine is the usual number of days it takes Odysseus to sail from one place to another, and these passages often involve adverse winds that blow the hero off course, as is the case with the Argonauts in Book 4.[48] Apollonius may have simply borrowed a Homeric detail without adapting it to fit his scheme of linking the voyage with the execution of his poetry, but this seems improbable for a poet as meticulous as Apollonius. Other violations of the poet's careful representation of time occur in the later parts of Book 4, contributing to a general atmosphere of aimlessness in the final section of the *Argonautica*. The reasons for the creation of such an

45. In this case, Apollonius' lack of comment may also be a way of touching base with Homer but at the same time declaring his difference from him. Valerius Flaccus could not resist having the Argonauts visit Troy (2.445-578).

46. Once again, Valerius Flaccus (5.154-176) expands a brief mention in Apollonius into a substantial passage.

47. Cf. M. F. Williams 1991.165-167, who demonstrates that Apollonius' description of the Syrtis is told from the viewpoint of a sailor approaching in a ship. Williams observes, "In this way the reader becomes one of the Argonauts and shares in their arrival."

48. *Odyssey* 7.253, 9.82, 10.28, 12.443, 14.314.

atmosphere are discussed at length in Chapter 5, in connection with the invocation of Book 4 of the epic.

Another instance where no digression appears in a proper spot for one occurs early in the *Argonautica* (1.585-590). Soon after the Argonauts have begun their journey, even before they have left the environs of Iolcus, they are blown to shore by adverse winds. They land near the tomb of Dolops, to whom they make sacrifices. These adverse winds seem, in fact, to have been sent by Dolops so that his tomb could receive sacrifices and worship.[49] On the third day, with Dolops apparently appeased, the winds subside, and the heroes depart. The poet tells us that this is the reason this spot on the coast of Magnesia came to be called the Ἀφεταὶ Ἀργοῦς, "Departure of the *Argo*." Apollonius treats this episode only briefly, with no accompanying digression to mirror the delay.

By including this passage, Apollonius alludes to earlier treatments of the Argonaut myth, in which Aphetae was an important location. According to some versions (Herodotus 7.193; Strabo 9.5.15), Aphetae was so named because this was the original point of departure for the *Argo*, not Pagasae as in Apollonius. Hesiod, in the *Marriage of Ceyx* (fr. 263 Merkelbach-West), explains the name of Aphetae by saying that this was the spot where Heracles parted company with the Argonauts. Apollonius responds to these earlier explanations with his own, based on ἀφίημι in the sense of "to release." The place was called Aphetae because it was from here that Dolops "released" the Argonauts.[50] Even here, Apollonius may be in debt to an earlier poet; the scholion to line 587 of Apollonius claims that Cleon of Curium, from whose *Argonautica* Apollonius borrowed material, described how Dolops died and was buried in this location of Magnesia.

All this explains why Apollonius chose to include this curious layover in the Argonauts' voyage, but not why he includes no narrative digression to accompany it. The answer lies in the timing of the passage. Apollonius' system of reflecting digressions and delays in the *Argo*'s progress with narrative digressions is most noticeable when the Argonauts are making steady progress toward a clearly defined destination, as in the latter part of Book 1 and in Book 2. Book 3 offers no opportunites for employing digressions in this way, since the Argonauts are stationary, remaining for the length of the book in Colchis. The system breaks down late in Book 4, when the Argonauts

49. Fränkel 87-88 on 1.580-591.

50. Ibid.

are unsure where they are, and at times even of where they should be heading. The passage examined here occurs at a point early in the voyage, before the Argonauts are making much headway. Very soon after leaving Aphetae, the heroes make a lengthy stop on the island of Lemnos. The Lemnian episode receives a good deal of attention and disrupts the sense of progress in the voyage of the *Argo*. It is only after they leave Lemnos that the Argonauts begin to make determined and steady progress toward their destination of Colchis. Thus, when Apollonius describes their delay in Aphetae, the voyage's progress has not yet gained enough momentum to require the poet to reflect a minor delay closely with a narrative digression.

Conversely, within the section of the *Argonautica* that depicts the Argonauts' steadiest progress, the latter part of Book 1 and Book 2, occurs the episode that provides the clearest indication that Apollonius links the spatial movement of the Argonauts with his own movement through the narrative. This is the rape of Hylas. Just before describing Hylas' abduction, Apollonius begins to relate the circumstances by which the boy came to accompany Heracles, but he breaks off his account, conceding, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τηλοῦ κεν ἀποπλάγξειεν ἀοιδῆς [but these things would wander far from our song] (1.1220). This is a concession that the entire episode constitutes a digression from the main line of the narrative, the progress of the Argonauts' voyage.[51] The sudden exclamation creates the illusion that Apollonius is composing spontaneously; the emotional excitement derived from the act of poetic composition causes him to stray from his subject. After a brief moment of (feigned) clumsiness, he corrects his path. The confession of having digressed has an ulterior purpose, and in a manner typically Hellenistic, the pretense of having committed an error introduces an important thematic element into the poem.[52] About a hundred lines later, when the Argonauts are debating whether to return and reunite with the abandoned Heracles or to proceed without him, the sea god Glaucus appears to them from the water and explains what happened. He concludes his explanation with the lines Αὐτὰρ Ὕλαν φιλότητι θεὰ ποιήσατο Νύμφη / ὃν πόσιν, οἷό περ οὕνεκα ἀποπλαγχθέντες ἔλειφθεν [But a divine nymph, out of desire for Hylas, made him her husband, on account of whom they wandered off and were left behind] (1.1324-1325). The repetition of the

51. Corbato 1955.9 sees here a reference to Callimachus' treatment of the myth. Cf. Vian 1.46-48.

52. Cf. Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 75.4-9.

unusual verb ἀποπλάζω in the context of the same event is striking.[53] Heracles' and the others' wandering off created the necessity for a wandering in the narrative, and this relationship is mirrored by the two uses of ἀποπλάζω. The correspondence is especially vivid because ἀποπλάζω (unlike ἀποπλανάω) is not normally used to describe anything but a physical, spatial digression. This repetition forms a ring composition framing the Hylas episode, but it also encourages the audience to regard its and the poet's movement through the narrative as parallel to the movement of the Argonauts.

The verb ἀποπλάζω occurs three more times outside of the Hylas episode, and two of these times it again appears in connection with Heracles. At 2.957, ἀποπλαγχθέντες describes other characters who were separated from Heracles. At 2.774-775, when Lycus learns that the Argonauts have left Heracles behind, he exclaims Ὦ φίλοι, οἵου φωτὸς ἀποπλαγχθέντες ἀρωγῆς / πείρετ' ἐς Αἰήτην τόσσον πλόον [O friends, what a great man's help you have wandered from, as you make such a great voyage to the land of Aeëtes!] Mary Margolies DeForest takes this statement to imply that Heracles' story, not Jason's, is the one of interest: "According to the people within the poem, the real story is with Heracles. Everyone else has wandered away. We are all adrift—narrator, heroes and reader—following the wrong path of song."[54] DeForest astutely perceives that the verb ἀποπλάζω acts as a signpost, alerting the audience to the correlation Apollonius makes between the voyage and his poem. I disagree, however, with her conclusion that the verb also encourages the audience to reject the story of the *Argonautica*, given its context in all passages except the one concerning Lycus. The occurrence of the verb at 2.957 is in a context too neutral to lend support to her thesis, and the first appearance of the verb in the poem has nothing to do with Heracles. Here, it describes Jason departing from the city and leaving behind Iphias, the priestess of Artemis:

> ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν λίπετ' αὖθι παρακλιδόν, οἷα γεραιὴ
> ὁπλοτέρων, ὁ δὲ πολλὸν ἀποπλαγχθεὶς ἐλιάσθη.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.315-316

53. Although the verb is fairly common in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, after Homer it occurs only in Empedocles (22.3), Theocritus (22.35), and Hesychius in addition to Apollonius.

54. DeForest 1994.84-85.

> [But she was left behind by the side of the road, as an old woman is left by the young, and he, drawn far away from her, departed.]

Apollonius surely does not intimate here that the interesting story lay not with the Argonauts on their voyage but with the old woman Iphias back in Iolcus. However, this brief scene describing Iphias is the last time the action of the poem takes place within the city of Iolcus. At 1.317-318, Jason has left the city and has come to Pagasae. During the brief passage describing Iphias, the story of Jason is split from the story of the events in Iolcus. Just as Jason is leaving behind his parents, Aeson and Alcimede, and the rest of the Iolcians, so the epic will no longer be concerned with them. The form of ἀποπλάζω signals this break, showing that the narrative is now moving off in a different direction, that the poet is taking a new path of song.[55]

DeForest is, however, perceptive in noting that throughout the *Argonautica*, we are reminded that Heracles is pursuing a path of his own. This is most pronounced when the Argonauts almost make contact with him, coming to the garden of the Hesperides only a day after Heracles has been there (4.1436). Although all the characters whom the Argonauts leave behind presumably continue their own activities, they are of little interest in comparison with Heracles. The verb ἀποπλάζω occurs most often in connection with Heracles because his activities are worthy of note and most obviously constitute a possible path of song. Such reminders that the story of Heracles is occurring simultaneously with the story of the Argonauts are consonant with Apollonius' portrayal of his poem as a journey. Conducting a journey entails making a series of decisions as to which routes to follow, and a decision not to follow a certain route does not deny the existence of that route. Apollonius conveys the sense of this by alluding to the separate path that Heracles is following.

Heracles was famous for his extraordinary voyages; his wanderings are a central theme in the *Homeric Hymn to Heracles* (*Homeric Hymn* 15).[56] Apollonius was certainly not the first poet tempted to digress on the great hero. Pindar, after mentioning the Pillars of Heracles, digresses on their eponym:

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55. Again Valerius Flaccus provides an instructive contrast; he does not hesitate to relate events occurring in Iolcus after the departure of the *Argo*. For a detailed discussion of the Iphias passage, see Nelis 1991.

56. See Nagy 1990b.13-14.

ἥρως θεὸς ἃς ἔθηκε ναυτιλίας ἐσχάτας
μάρτυρας κλυτάς· δάμασε δὲ θῆρας ἐν πελάγεϊ
ὑπερόχους, ἰδίᾳ τ' ἐρεύνασε τεναγέων
ῥοάς, ὁπᾷ πόμπινον κατέβαινε νόστου τέλος,
καὶ γᾶν φράδασσε. θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπὰν
ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβεις;
Αἰακ' σε φαμὶ γένει τε Μοῖσαν φέρειν.

Nemean 3.22-28

[Which (pillars) the divine hero established as well-known markers of the farthest voyage, and he subdued mighty beasts in the sea, and seeking alone the streams of the shallows, he made the earth known. My heart, toward what foreign headland do you turn my voyage? I intend you to apply my poetry to Aeacus and his family.]

In this passage, Pindar supplies a very close model for Apollonius. Like the Alexandrian poet, he assimilates the subject of his digression, Heracles' journeys, to his poetry by portraying his poem itself as a voyage. [57]

It is no accident that Pindar provides so many parallels to the techniques of Apollonius that have been discussed in this chapter. Pindar's poetry would have provided an especially important model for Apollonius, since his longest surviving ode, *Pythian* 4, also treats the myth of the Argonauts, with emphasis on Medea's role. However, the choral poet's work would have been valuable for more than simply subject matter. Pindar, in his self-conscious manner of choosing among previous traditions for his own poetry, and in the way in which he frequently calls attention to his activity as poet, is in many ways a precursor to the introspective, self-conscious poets of the Hellenistic period.[58] Pindar's emphasis on the performance of his poetry and the relation of this performance to his audience would also have been valuable for a poet concerned with infusing his poetry with the context of a performance. An epinician poet is at pains to identify his activity with that of the object of his praise as closely as possible. The mutual fame of both the athletic victor and the poet is dependent on the epinician; the victory justifies the occasion for the poem, and the poem provides the victor with protection against oblivion. To

57. Cf. also Hesiod, who makes numerous small digressions on Heracles in the *Theogony*. West 1966.228-229.

58. As noted by Hunter 1993.16.

ensure that his own glory will be preserved by the poem, Pindar calls attention to his role in the process, and to bind his own success more closely to the athlete's, he sometimes describes his composition of poetry with athletic metaphors. Pindar refers to his poetry using metaphors derived from vocabulary concerned with running (*Olympian* 8.54), javelin and discus throwing (*Olympian* 13.93-95; *Nemean* 7.71), jumping (*Nemean* 5.19-20), and chariot racing (*Olympian* 6.22).[59] Apollonius, whose poetry deals with heroic sailors, creates a similar bond with his characters when he depicts his own activity as a sea voyage.

Homeric epic also provides a precedent for this technique, for it recognizes a mutual contract for fame with its own subject, the hero. The interdependence of hero and poet is most obvious in those books of the *Odyssey* dealing with Odysseus' stay at the court of Alcinous. In Book 8, Demodocus sings of events concerning Odysseus in that hero's very presence. Odysseus' narration of his own adventures in Books 9, 10, and 11, in which he becomes a poet, as it were, further demonstrates that hero and poet are mutually dependent.[60] Pindar demonstrates that he recognizes the *Odyssey* is concerned with this relationship between hero and poet when he discusses his own relationship with the victorious athlete: ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον' ἔλπομαι / λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν / διὰ τὸν ἀδυεπῆ γενέσθ' Ὅμηρον [I suppose the story of Odysseus or his suffering is greater because of sweetly speaking Homer] (*Nemean* 7.20-22).

Homer assimilates his activity to that of his characters by depicting his characters as taking part in a poetic performance, either as poet or as audience. Apollonius does this with Orpheus and Phineus, as we saw in the last chapter. However, in this chapter we have seen that he approaches this assimilation from the other direction, by portraying himself as performing the same activity as his characters. Given the virtual loss of all epic between Homer and Apollonius, it is impossible to determine how pioneering the Alexandrian poet was in employing this technique, familiar to us from epinician, in his epic. As discussed earlier, we might find more parallels for this technique in the epic genre itself if more of the Cycle survived. Still, as the next chapter will indicate, Pindar's influence on Apollonius was enormous, and it is reasonable to suggest that Apollonius was strongly influenced by the lyric poet. Indeed Pindar, whose poetry was closely tied to specific

59. These and other athletic metaphors are discussed by Steiner 1986.111-117.

60. See Austin 1975.199-200 and Segal 1983, especially pp. 22-28.

events, and whose narrator often referred to the circumstances under which he created his poetry, is an obvious model for Apollonius in the latter's endeavor to infuse his epic with reflections of the social context enjoyed by that poem's genre in an earlier age. Evoking Pindar has much the same effect as evoking the descriptions of Demodocus or of the Delian maidens; Pindar is a poet whose songs can hardly be thought of without also recalling the audience who enjoyed them.

4

Argonautica 3: A Triple Enchantment

The second book of the *Argonautica* continues the movement of the first, the outward voyage of the heroes, and so Apollonius calls no attention to the division between Books 1 and 2. Book 3, however, deals with a different sort of story, a series of incidents leading to a single climax, and the poet marks this with an invocation. Apollonius also signals the transition by invoking a different deity; he now calls upon, not Apollo, but the Muse Erato:

> Εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν Ἐρατώ, παρά θ' ἵστασο καί μοι ἔνισπε
> ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων
> Μηδείης ὑπ' ἔρωτι· Σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἶσαν
> ἔμμορες, ἀδμῆτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις
> παρθενικάς· τῶ καί τοι ἐπήρατον οὔνομ' ἀνῆπται.
>
> *Argonautica* 3.1-5
>
> [Come now, Erato, stand next to me and tell me how Jason brought the fleece from there to Iolcus, with the aid of Medea's love; for you, too, have a share of Cypris, and you ensnare untamed maidens with the emotional turmoil you cause—and so love appears in your name.]

The poet plays on the etymological connection between ἔρως and Ἐρατώ, echoing the Muse's name with ἔρωτι in line 3 (here the oblique case of ἔρως strengthens the similarity), and again with ἐπήρατον in line 5. Apollonius' wordplay adds resonance to his explicit statements that Erato has close connections with love. In this way the poet immediately establishes that the ensuing verses will be concerned with erotic themes.[1] The technique was observed by Ovid, who adopted the wordplay for his invocation to the second book of his *Ars*

1. Fränkel 326-327; Vian 2.49 on 3.1; Paduano 1972.94-95; Zanker 1979.70-71.

Amatoria (2.15-16): "nunc mihi, si quando, puer et Cytherea, favete: nunc Erato, nam tu nomen Amoris habes."[2]

The association between Erato and love poetry is not original to the Alexandrian poet. As can be seen from Plato's *Phaedrus* (259d.1-2), it is at least as old as the fourth century. However, Apollonius expands on this connection, and he lays the framework for a series of associations that permeate the rest of his epic, especially Book 3. Just as Apollo's connections with both poetry and prophecy in the invocation of Book 1 strengthen the bond between the poem's source of inspiration and its subject matter, Erato's associations with love bring her into closer contact with the main plot of Book 3, the seduction of Medea.

Central to the creation of this framework of associations are the words ἀδμῆτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις παρθενικάς. The verb θέλγω has meanings ranging from "charm," or "enchant," to "beguile," "ensnare," or "deceive." In earlier poetry, the word was used to describe the effect of song or poetry on an audience (*Odyssey* 12.40; Pindar *Nemean* 4.3), and also the seductive power of love (*Odyssey* 18.212; Sophocles *Trachiniae* 354-355; Euripides *Hippolytus* 1274, *Bacchae* 404-405). Apollonius employs the word θέλγω in describing the activity of both Erato and Eros in Book 3 to strengthen the bond established by the similarity of their names.

After its conspicuous appearance in the invocation, θέλγω consistently appears in connection with Eros' effect upon Medea and becomes a leitmotiv of the book. When Hera and Athena ponder how best to help Jason, Hera suggests that they approach Aphrodite and ask her to persuade Eros to charm Medea: αἴ κε πίθηται / κούρην Αἰήτεω πολυφάρμακον οἷσι βέλεσσι / θέλξαι ὀιστεύσας ἐπ' Ἰήσονι (3.26-28). The form θέλξαι is repeated when Hera and Athena actually make their request of Cypris: ἀλλ' αὔτως ἀκέουσα τεῷ ἐπικέκλεο παιδὶ / παρθένον Αἰήτεω θέλξαι πόθῳ Αἰσονίδαο (3.85-86). Aphrodite herself uses a slight variation on lines 27-28 when she asks her son to perform the task: σὺ δὲ παρθένον Αἰήταο / θέλξον ὀιστεύσας ἐπ' Ἰήσονι (3.143-144). Apollonius seldom employs such repetitions, so common in Homer, and when he does, the repetition carries significance.[3] Here it emphasizes the connection between the power of Erato and that of Eros.

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2. Ovid also recalls Virgil *Aeneid* 7.37: "nunc age ... Erato."

3. Elderkin 1913; Hunter 1989.39. Nyberg 1992.8-9 comments on the salience of the repetition of θέλγω.

The last-mentioned echo of Book 3's invocation, that coming at the end of Aphrodite's plea to Eros, is anticipated at the beginning of the goddess's speech by a different echo of the invocation. Aphrodite implores her unruly child to do what she asks, using the interjection εἰ δ' ἄγε: εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι πρόφρων τέλεσον χρέος ὅττι κεν εἴπω (3.131). This interjection recalls the poet's invocation to Erato, which also begins with these words. The repetition is conspicuous for several reasons. In both the poet's invocation and Aphrodite's plea, the interjection begins the hexameter. The phrase itself is a rare expression; unlike ἀλλ' ἄγε, which appears very frequently in Homer and in later authors, εἰ δ' ἄγε appears only ten times in the *Iliad*, nine times in the *Odyssey*,[4] and nowhere in the *Homeric Hymns*, Hesiod, Pindar, or the tragedians. Given the way in which the expression is used in Homer, Apollonius' use of it when invoking a goddess would probably have struck his original audience as odd. In the *Iliad*, Hector uses it when calling to his slaves (6.376), and it is also used by mortals or gods addressing others of roughly equal status. It is never used in conversation between gods and mortals. In the *Odyssey*, this practice is observed only slightly less stringently.[5] Moreover, in Homer the expression is usually indicative of impatience or excitement and is spoken by one character to another after they have already been conversing for at least a short time. Thus Apollonius' use of the phrase, at the start of the very first line of Book 3, to address to the divine Muse whom he has never before addressed in the poem, is, if not impertinent, at least abrupt. The excitement and anxiety implied by εἰ δ' ἄγε also hint that the poet is unsure that the Muse will grant his request. This anxiety makes the poet's invocation to Erato especially similar to Aphrodite's plea to her son, since the goddess openly expresses her fear that Eros will not listen to her (3.91-99).[6]

Other words used in the invocation to describe Erato's power later describe the seduction of Medea. Παρθενικαί are the object of Erato's

4. *Iliad* 1.302, 1.524, 6.376, 8.18, 9.167, 16.667, 17.685, 19.108, 22.381, 23.581; *Odyssey* 1.271, 2.178, 4.832, 9.37, 12.112, 21.217, 22.391, 23.35, 24.336.

5. The exceptions are few and minor. At 4.832, Penelope uses the interjection when addressing the likeness of Iphthima sent by Athena, but she is not even sure to what sort of being she is speaking. At 12.112, Odysseus addresses Circe with these words, and while he does call her θεά in this line, his relationship to her is not at all the normal one of mortals to immortals.

6. This nervousness is also typical of Alexandrian self-consciousness. Apollonius expresses his anxiety much more openly in the invocation beginning Book 4, which is discussed in the next chapter.

seductive power in the invocation, and παρθενική is often used later in the poem to describe Medea (3.547, 3.563, 3.829, 3.975, and throughout Book 4). The same is true of μελέδημα, which, like *cura* in Latin poetry, here denotes care inspired by love. Apollonius uses the word in the invocation to describe the means by which Erato ensnares young maidens, and then later in the book to describe Medea's feelings for Jason: ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὡς ἐόλητο νόον μελεδήμασι κούρη (3.471; cf. 3.752). Similar language is used at 3.451-452: πολλὰ δὲ θυμῷ / ὥρμαιν', ὅσσα τ' Ἔρωτες ἐποτρύνουσι μέλεσθαι.

Apollonius has ample precedent for associating the seductive powers of love and of poetry. The connection was made perhaps as early as Hesiod; George Walsh detects in the *Theogony* a strong similarity between Hesiod's description of Pandora and his references to poetry containing falsehoods. Seeming to be a boon while actually a great source of evil, Pandora entraps Epimetheus much as poetry containing falsehoods deceives its audience.[7] A chorus of Euripides' *Bacchae* (402-415) also plays upon the relationship between the seductive powers of love and those of poetry. The chorus members pray to Dionysus, imploring him to take them away to Aphrodite's island, Cyprus, where the θελξίφρονες Ἔρωτες dwell, or to Pieria, the home of the Muses. Both locations are associated with deities who have the power to enchant mortals. Such a prayer is appropriately addressed to Dionysus, since he, too, has seductive power. Thus the chorus concludes its prayer by singing, ἐκεῖ δὲ Πόθος· ἐκεῖ δὲ βάκχαις θέμις ὀργιάζειν [There dwells Desire; there it is proper for Bacchae to revel].

However, like other aspects of the Greek tradition that Apollonius incorporates, the association between poetry and love acquires special significance in the *Argonautica*. Since the divine power depicted as exerting its influence on Medea, Eros, is so closely associated with Erato, the deity invoked at the start of the book, one is invited to associate not only these seductive powers themselves but also the objects affected by these powers. Apollonius states that Erato bewitches young maidens, but it is clear that her power extends

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7. Walsh 1984.34: "Pandora is a counterfeit fashioned in the likeness of a goddess (*WD* 62) or a respectable maid (*WD* 71, *Theogony* 572), with evil intent. As a bane that looks 'like' (*ikelos*) a blessing, she might be compared to false poetry that is like (*homonoios*) true (*Theogony* 27). According to this analogy, false poetry promises but withholds knowledge to men's sorrow; Pandora's beauty promises but destroys pleasure."

further than this. Since she is the deity addressed in a poem's invocation, another obvious recipient of her power is the narrator: like Apollo, Erato is not only a force directing the events described in the narrative but also the motivating force behind the narration of the poem, the activity of the poet. Again Apollonius aligns the narrator with one of his characters, since Erato affects both narrator and Medea. The associations continue still further. Since the poet is in many ways merely a mouthpiece for the Muse, the ultimate object of Erato's power is the audience; the experience of the audience, as well as that of the poet, is assimilated to the experience of Medea. In hearing the account of Medea's love, one shares in her experience, since both Medea and the audience are affected by a force that stems at least partly from the Muse Erato. The poetry thereby becomes more immediate for its audience. This is very much like the scheme of inspiration Plato presents in the *Ion*; Erato's inspiration forms a bond that involves the poet and his audience in the experience of the poetry's characters.

Both Virgil and Ovid can be seen to have appreciated this structural feature of Apollonius' technique, and to have imitated it in their own poetry. Virgil does so in Book 4 of the *Aeneid*, a part of his epic that has been recognized since antiquity as being largely modeled on Book 3 of the *Argonautica*.[8] *Aeneid* 4 begins with a description of Dido's passion:

> At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
> vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.
> multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat
> gentis honos: haerent infixi pectore vultus
> verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.
>
> *Aeneid* 4.1-5

> [But the queen, for a long time wounded with severe lovesickness, nourishes the wound in her veins and is eaten by hidden fire. The man's virtue and the great honor of his race go through her mind often. His face and words cling fixed in her heart, and her lovesickness gives no quiet sleep to her body.]

The language here and throughout Book 4 recalls that used by Apollonius to describe Medea:

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8. Servius goes so far as to say of *Aeneid* 4, "Apollonius *Argonautica* scripsit et in tertio inducit amantem Medeam: inde totus hic liber translatus est." Cf. Macrobius *Saturnalia* 5.17.4.

προπρὸ δ' ἄρ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔτι οἱ ἰνδάλλετο πάντα,
αὐτός θ' οἷος ἔην, οἵοισί τε φάρεσιν ἧστο,
οἷά τ' ἔειφ', ὡς θ' ἕζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου, ὡς τε θύραζε
ἤιεν· οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλον ὀίσσατο παρφύρουσα
ἔμμεναι ἀνέρα τοῖον· ἐν οὔασι δ' αἰέν ὀρώρει
αὐδή τε μῦθοί τε μελίφρονες, οὓς ἀγόρευσεν.

Argonautica 3.453-458

[Everything still appeared before her eyes: what he was like, what clothes he wore, what he said, how he sat on his chair, how he went to the door; in her excitement she imagined there wasn't another man like him. Always in her ears were his voice and the gentle words that he spoke.]

Medea is mostly preoccupied with Jason's physical characteristics, while Dido, although she certainly notes Aeneas' beauty, is more obsessed with the sober, very Roman concerns of *virtus* and *honor*. However, both keep thinking of the words—the μῦθοι and *verba*—spoken by the objects of their desire. This is another way Medea's infatuation is assimilated to the experience of hearing poetry performed; Apollonius lists a source of her lovesickness as Jason's μῦθοι, which is evocative of the stories of poetry. It is thus particularly appropriate for Virgil to adopt this Apollonian passage, since the *verba* of Aeneas, unlike the μῦθοι of Jason, are truly concerned with the stuff of poetry: the fall of Ilium and the wanderings of the fugitive Trojans. In narrating these stories, Aeneas assumes the role of poet. Dido acknowledges this in telling Anna of her infatuation; after listing several characteristics that she finds attractive in Aeneas, she exclaims, "quae bella exhausta canebat!" (4.14). *Cano* is not naturally used of someone merely reporting an incident but is properly applied to the activity of a poet.[9] This is especially obvious in an epic beginning with, "arma virumque cano." Thus we are encouraged to think of Dido as enchanted not only by Amor but also by poetry, just as Medea is overwhelmed by both Eros and Erato. Virgil underscores this a little later, when he states that Dido desires not merely to be with Aeneas, but to have him repeat his account of Troy's fall (4.78-79). As with Medea in Apollonius—perhaps even more so—the reader is encouraged to align him/herself with Dido, since both he/she and the

9. Conington 1963 ad loc. says of *canebat*, "Virgil may have been identifying the narrative of Aeneas with his own heroics."

Carthaginian queen have been the poet Aeneas' audience throughout Books 2 and 3.

Ovid, in Book 7 of the *Metamorphoses*, also imitates Apollonius' technique. Here, Ovid treats the story of Jason and Medea, and so the *Argonautica* is an obvious model. During an exchange between Jason and Medea, Ovid playfully encourages his audience to empathize with the poem's characters. Jason asks Medea to restore Aeson's youth, and he completes his request with these lines: "si tamen hoc possunt—quid enim non carmina possunt?—deme meis annis, et demptos adde parenti" (7.167-168). The *carmina* that Jason mentions refer of course to Medea's spells, but clearly Ovid is also self-consciously calling attention to his own poetry. The reader immediately thinks of the *carmen* he is experiencing at the moment, the *Metamorphoses* itself, and the power it has to enthrall its audience.

The associations between love and poetry in Apollonius discussed above may be recognized exclusively from verbal correspondences within the *Argonautica* itself, but further associations rely on allusions to other poems, particularly to the *Odyssey*. Apollonius establishes his link with the *Odyssey* at once, within the invocation: the παρθενικαί whom Erato enchants are described as ἀδμῆται, "untamed" or "virgin." As Richard Hunter notes, Nausicaa is the only character in Homer described as a παρθένος ἀδμής.[10] Thus one is encouraged to recall the *Odyssey*. The phrase also adumbrates Nausicaa as a model for Medea, and indeed the interaction between Jason and Medea owes much to Homer's treatment of Odysseus' meeting with Nausicaa.[11] However, of even greater importance for this study than Nausicaa as a model for Medea is Apollonius' use of another Odyssean model: Penelope.[12] In a general way, Penelope is analogous to Medea in that she constantly longs for her absent husband, while Medea longs for Jason, whose love she thinks is unattainable. Apollonius exploits this similarity by manipulating Odyssean passages describing Penelope to support his assimilation of love and poetry. Penelope's first appearance in the *Odyssey*, where she descends from her room to rebuke the bard Phemius for singing of the unhappy returns of the Greeks from Troy, is especially important. Because Apollonius mined this passage extensively, it is necessary to quote it at some length;

10. Hunter 1989 on 3.4-5. Nausicaa is designated as such at *Odyssey* 6.109, 6.228.

11. Händel 1954.94-95; Beye 1969.51; Hunter 1989.26, 29-30; Pavlock 1990.51-68.

12. Hunter 1989.29 comments on Penelope's importance as a model. See also his notes on *Argonautica* 3.451-452, 3.616-632, 3.804-805, 3.828-835.

specific words and phrases to which we will refer often have been underlined.

> ἡ δ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο δῖα γυναικῶν,
> στῆ ῥα παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο
> ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα·
> ἀμφίπολος δ' ἄρα οἱ κεδνὴ ἑκάτερθε παρέστη.
> δακρύσασα δ' ἔπειτα προσηύδα θεῖον ἀοιδόν·
> Φήμιε, πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλα βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδας,
> ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί·
> τῶν ἕν γέ σφιν ἄειδε παρήμενος, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ
> οἶνον πινόντων· ταύτης δ' ἀποπαύε' ἀοιδῆς
> λυγρῆς, ἥ τέ μοι αἰεὶ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον κῆρ
> τείρει, ἐπεί με μάλιστα καθίκετο πένθος ἄλαστον.
> τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ποθέω μεμνημένη αἰεὶ
> ἀνδρός, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος.
>
> *Odyssey* 1.332-343
>
> [But when she, godlike of women, arrived before the suitors, she stood by the pillar of the tightly made house, holding her shining veil before her cheeks; on either side of her stood an attendant. Then, crying, she addressed the divine singer: "Phemius, since you know many other enchantments for mortals, the deeds of men and of gods, which the singers celebrate, sing about one of these while you are here, and let them drink their wine in silence. But stop this mournful song, which constantly tears at my heart within my breast, since very much does an unforgettable sorrow come upon me, for such a head I long for, always remembering my husband, whose fame stretches throughout Hellas and the midst of Argos."]

Penelope, when she addresses the suitors, holds her veil modestly before her face: ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα. Medea, after having fallen in love with Jason while he held his audience with Aeëtes, watches him leave through the veil kept over her face: ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ὄμματα κούρη / λοξὰ παρὰ λιπαρὴν σχομένη θηεῖτο καλύπτρην (3.444-445). Apollonius' word for "veil" differs from Homer's, but his use of the adjective λιπαρός and the exact echo of the participle of ἔχω (which occurs in the same *sedes* as in the Homeric line) clearly evoke the Odyssean description of Penelope. By using Penelope reacting to poetry as a model for Medea falling in love with Jason, Apollonius creates another association between the effects of passion and of poetry.

This is not simply a matter of both poets describing a commonplace of Greek society and literature, that women veil their faces in the public presence of men; we shall see more instances of Apollonius' manipulation of this image.[13] There are, moreover, other echoes of this Odyssean passage that function in the same way. Penelope complains to Phemius that his song grieves her heart: ἥ τέ μοι αἰεὶ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον κῆρ τείρει. Homer uses the expression κῆρ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι very rarely, once in the *Iliad* (14.139-140) and twice in the *Odyssey* besides the passage quoted above (7.309, 16.274-275), in contrast to the almost seventy times he employs the phrase θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι.[14] Thus, the appearance of this very rare phrase in the *Argonautica* is striking enough to recall a specific occurrence of the words in Homer. The first of the two times Apollonius employs the phrase (he sometimes uses the form κέαρ instead of κῆρ), he imitates the *Odyssey* passage closely. In Book 1, Idmon implores Idas not to blaspheme the gods in his attempt to encourage Jason, and his language recalls Penelope's request of Phemius to change the subject:

> Δαιμόνιε, φρονέεις ὀλοφώια καὶ πάρος αὐτῷ,
> ἦέ τοι εἰς ἄτην ζωρὸν μέθυ θαρσαλέον κῆρ
> οἰδάνει ἐν στήθεσσι, θεοὺς δ' ἀνέηκεν ἀτίζειν;
> ἄλλοι μῦθοι ἔασι παρήγοροι οἷσι περ ἀνήρ
> θαρσύνοι ἕταρον·
>
> *Argonautica* 1.476-484
>
> [Strange one, do you devise your own ruin even before your day, or does the neat wine embolden your audacious heart within your breast to ruin, and lead it to dishonor the gods? There are other encouraging words with which to console a companion.]

Apollonius has made some innovations such as his use of the phrase κῆρ ἐν στήθεσσι to refer to a person's saying troubling things rather

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13. See pp. 78-79, 88, 102, 110 below.

14. The other occurrences of κῆρ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι are not particularly relevant. The Iliadic passage containing the phrase refers to Achilles as he exults over the Achaean losses. The occurrence in *Odyssey* 16 is used when Odysseus bids Telemachus to endure the outrages of the suitors until the time is right for vengeance. The passage in *Odyssey* 7 is slightly more germane to Apollonius, and it is significant that in this instance, the same formula as that in *Odyssey* 1 is used. Here, it is spoken by Alcinous as he assures Odysseus that he is not angry with him for having had contact with Nausicaa without a chaperone; he then goes on to offer Odysseus his daughter's hand in marriage. This may be another way Apollonius encourages the association between Medea and Nausicaa.

than hearing them, but the obvious similarities point to the *Odyssey* passage as a model.

After adapting the *Odyssey* passage for such a similar context, in Book 3 Apollonius further modifies it in describing Medea's reaction to her passion for Jason. As she lies in her bedroom, Medea is unable to sleep because of her concern for Jason:

> Ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μήδειαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβεν ὕπνος·
> πολλὰ γὰρ Αἰσονίδαο πόθῳ μελεδήματ' ἔγειρε
> δειδυῖαν ταύρων κρατερὸν μένος, οἷσιν ἔμελλε
> φθεῖσθαι ἀεικελίῃ μοίρῃ κατὰ νειὸν Ἄρηος.
> Πυκνὰ δέ οἱ κραδίη στηθέων ἔντοσθεν ἔθυιεν.
> Ἠελίου ὥς τίς τε δόμοις ἐνιπάλλεται αἴγλη,
> ὕδατος ἐξανιοῦσα τὸ δὴ νέον ἠὲ λέβητι
> ἠέ που ἐν γαυλῷ κέχυται, ἡ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
> ὠκείῃ στροφάλιγγι τινάσσεται ἀίσσουσα·
> ὣς δὲ καὶ ἐν στήθεσσι κέαρ ἐλελίζετο κούρης.
>
> *Argonautica* 3.751-760

> [But in no way did sweet sleep take Medea, since out of desire for Aesonides many cares kept her awake, fearing the powerful strength of the bulls, by whom he was to suffer an unseemly fate on the field of Ares. Her heart quickly fluttered inside her breast. As a ray of sunlight leaps about in a house, jumping from water just poured into a kettle or perhaps a bucket, and here and there it flickers, gleaming in swift circles, so trembled the girl's heart within her breast.]

The phrase ἐν στήθεσσι κέαρ echoes Penelope's ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον κῆρ when she feels troubled by the poem that reminds her of her absent husband. Medea's reaction to love is again modeled on Penelope's reaction to poetry. Furthermore, the scene of Medea lying awake because of her worries is itself reminiscent of Penelope, sleepless because of her longing for Odysseus (19.516-517; cf. 18.188-189, where Athena enables Penelope to sleep). By conflating, in his description of Medea, echoes of Penelope troubled by her longing for Odysseus with those of Penelope reacting to poetry, Apollonius further cements the association he creates between the power of Eros and that of Erato.

Κέαρ appears in connection with στῆθος a third time, at 3.954. Here it is used in a different context, in a passage describing Medea's frightened reaction to sounds made by passing footsteps or the wind as she waits for Jason to arrive for their meeting. Here, however, the

exact phrase is different: ἦ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ [and indeed her heart broke within her breast]. The text here is even suspect, and is obelized by Fränkel. Thus this line does not obscure Apollonius' specific allusions to the Odyssean passage describing Penelope's response to poetry, and his adaptation of that passage for his own portrayal of love's effect on Medea. A further clue that this vocabulary has special significance for Apollonius' description of the effects of love is found at 4.1060-1061. Here, Medea has another sleepless night, as she did in the passage quoted above (3.751-760), but this time she is not perturbed by her love for Jason. Instead, she lies awake tormented by fear that the Argonauts will give her up and return her to her vengeful father. Significantly, entirely different vocabulary is used to describe this variety of mental anguish: τὴν [Μήδειαν] δ' οὔ τι μίνυνθά περ εὕνασεν ὕπνος, / ἀλλά οἱ ἐν στέρνοις ἀχέων εἱλίσσετο θυμός.

Apollonius also makes connections with reactions to poetry in the *Odyssey* by his use of a certain simile. At 3.656-663, he likens Medea, as she ponders betraying her father and helping Jason, to a young widow mourning her dead husband. As R. W. Garson observes, this simile is modeled on that of *Odyssey* 8.523-530, which describes Odysseus' reaction when he hears Demodocus singing of the Trojan War.[15] The similarities to the Odyssean passage continue beyond the simile. In the *Argonautica*, after the conclusion of the simile, Chalciope learns of her sister's distress and goes to Medea's bedroom, where she finds her crying.

> διὰ δ' ἔσσυτο θαμβήσασα
> ἐκ θαλάμου θάλαμον δὲ διαμπερές, ᾧ ἔνι κούρη
> κέκλιτ' ἀκηχεμένη, κρύψεν[16] δ' ἐκάτερθε παρειάς.
> Ὡς δ' ἴδε δάκρυσιν ὄσσε πεφυρμένα, φώνησέν μιν·
>
> *Argonautica* 3.670-674

[Astounded, she hurried from her bedroom straight to Medea's bedroom, where the girl lay in her anguish and covered both her cheeks. But when Chalciope saw that her eyes were wet with tears, she addressed her.]

15. Garson 1972, especially p. 8; cf. Pavlock 1990.56.

16. κρύψεν is the conjecture of Ardizzoni 1976.240, adopted by Vian. The manuscripts read δρύψεν, which is more appropriate for a woman mourning a death than for one agonizing over an infatuation. This detail is perhaps influenced by the preceding simile describing the young widow, yet this could still be the work of a scribe familiar with the very common image of the widow scratching her cheeks. See Hunter 1989 on 3.672.

Chalciope then asks Medea the cause of her grief. This is very similar to what happens in the *Odyssey* after the end of the simile Apollonius used as a model; Alcinous notices Odysseus' weeping (which he had observed earlier, at 8.94-95) and proceeds to question him. In the Homeric passages, Odysseus tries to conceal his tears by covering his head with his cloak. So too, Medea is covering her face when Chalciope arrives to question her. We noted earlier that Medea also covers her face when she first sees Jason, and that this is modeled on the Odyssean passage where Penelope veils her face when rebuking Phemius in front of the suitors. In the *Odyssey*, both Penelope and Odysseus have their faces covered when they experience a poetic performance that brings them pain. Apollonius has evoked both these passages that describe the pain Medea feels due to her lovesickness, thereby linking the effects of passion and of poetry.

Another text that comes to mind in connection with the image of the veiled head is Plato's *Phaedrus*. When Phaedrus convinces Socrates to produce a speech to rival one by Lysias, Socrates explains that he will veil his face while he speaks (ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἐρῶ, 237a.4), which he says he does out of embarrassment.[17] Socrates begins his speech with an elaborate appeal to the Muses that starts with language similar to *Argonautica* 3.1: Ἄγετε δή, ὦ Μοῦσαι, εἴτε δι' ᾠδῆς εἶδος λίγειαι, εἴτε διὰ γένος μουσικὸν τὸ Λιγύων ταύτην ἔσχετ' ἐπωνυμίαν [Come now, Muses, whether you are called "clear voiced" because of the tone of your song, or whether you have this epithet because of the musical race of the Ligurians] (237a.7-9). Apollonius' εἰ δ' ἄγε is similar to Socrates' Ἄγετε δή, and the Alexandrian poet's explanation of Erato's name is akin to Socrates' concern for the origin the Muses' epithet λίγειαι. It is worth recalling here that the *Phaedrus* is our earliest text that mentions a special connection between Erato and love poetry (259d.1-2). Socrates' speech is about the effects of Eros, and so in subject matter, too, *Argonautica* 3 and Socrates' speech are alike. This section of the *Phaedrus* is germane to Apollonius' poetry in another way: Socrates engages in spontaneous composition achieved under the influence of divine inspiration, the sort of composition we have seen that Apollonius endeavors to portray his narrator as practicing. Before Socrates begins, he expresses fear that he will embarrass himself by trying to rival Lysias in an extemporaneous

17. I thank John Dugan for alerting me to this parallel. Cf. M. F. Williams 1991.255-258 for a discussion of the *Phaedrus* as a subtext in *Argonautica* 1.211-218.

composition: γελοῖος ἔσομαι παρ' ἀγαθὸν ποιήτην ἰδιώτης αὐτοσχεδιάζων (236d.4-5). Socrates later attributes his success to divine inspiration: Ἀτάρ, ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε, δοκῶ τι σοί, ὥσπερ ἐμαυτῷ, θεῖον πάθος πεπονθέναι; (238c.5-6). Eventually, this inspiration becomes so strong that Socrates begins speaking in verse, much against his will (241e). Like the rhapsode of Plato's *Ion*, Socrates achieves success not through skill but through divine inspiration, which he attributes to the Nymphs (241e); he composes while being, as it were, ἔκφρων and ἔνθεος. Indeed, Socrates' covering of his face, although attributed to a sense of embarrassment, is actually a physical representation of the loss of senses a poet experiences when inspired. What Socrates perceives is different from what his audience, Phaedrus, perceives. Deprived of his sight by the covering over of his eyes, Socrates temporarily attains the ecstatic state permanently enjoyed by the ideal poet Demodocus, blind in the eyes but endowed with special vision that is the gift of divine inspiration.

Plato's *Phaedrus* is certainly not as obvious a model for the *Argonautica* as the *Odyssey*. However, the similarities between the invocation of Apollonius' third book and Socrates' appeal to the Muses, and the fact that Socrates' veiling of his face in this dialogue seems to have been famous in antiquity,[18] make it reasonable to conclude that Apollonius was aware of the appropriateness of certain themes of this dialogue for his narration of *Argonautica* 3. A recollection of Socrates' veiling his face certainly adds resonance to Apollonius' use of veiled-head imagery to blend the experiences of love and poetry. This is a powerful and important image in the *Argonautica*, one that graphically represents the ecstatic state of consciousness a poet experiences when composing, and we shall find other examples of it in other contexts.

In the *Odyssey*, Penelope and Odysseus are reminded of their misfortunes by poetry and are thus led to lamentation. This is atypical

18. It is mentioned as if a commonplace in Aulus Gellius (19.9.9). Here, the rhetor Antonius Julianus, when he defends Latin love poetry against the criticisms of his Greek dining companions, refers to Socrates' veiling his face: "Sed ne nos, id est nomen Latinum, tamquam profecto vastos quosdam et insubidos ἀναφροδισίας condemnetis, permitte mihi, quaeso, operire pallio caput, quod in quadam pudica oratione Socraten fecisse aiunt, et audite ac discite nostros quoque antiquiores ante eos, quos nominastis, poetas amasios ac venerios fuisse." That Julianus refers to the *Phaedrus* before reciting love poetry makes it still easier to conclude that Apollonius could have found the dialogue an appropriate model for the love story of *Argonautica* 3. I am again indebted to John Dugan, who provided me with this reference in Aulus Gellius.

of the reaction produced by poetry as it is often represented in Archaic literature. Poetry is usually described as having the opposite effect on its audience; like wine, poetry induces its recipients to forget their cares. As Hesiod says at *Theogony* 98-103, whoever hears the gifts of the Muses quickly forgets his troubles: αἶψ' ὅ γε δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων / μέμνηται. In the Odyssean passage discussed above, it is clearly such care-banishing poetry Penelope wishes Phemius to provide in place of his upsetting tales of νόστοι. The function of poetry is a paradox: it both preserves the memory of past events—thus the Muses are appropriately the daughters of Memory—and causes forgetfulness of unpleasant things. Indeed, poetry is able to recall and preserve what is worth remembering by selectively ignoring what is not worthy of remembrance.[19] This paradox was fully recognized and exploited by the Greek poets, as can be seen by Hesiod's emphatic arrangement of words when he describes the birth of the Muses:

> τὰς ἐν Πιερίῃ Κρονίδῃ τέκε πατρὶ μιγεῖσα
> Μνημοσύνη, γουνοῖσιν Ἐλευθῆρος μεδέουσα,
> λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἄμπαυμά τε μερμηράων.
>
> *Theogony* 53-55

> [Having joined with their father Cronides, Memory, queen of the Eleutherian hills, bore (the Muses) in Pieria, to be a source of forgetfulness of evils and a solace from troubles.]

Apollonius draws on this conventional paradox regarding poetry and applies it to the love-struck Medea. After seeing Jason, Medea cannot stop remembering everything she noticed about him when he came to speak to Aeëtes (3.451-458). However, her obsession with Jason causes her to forget all else; soon after being struck by Eros' arrow, she has no other recollection: οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλην / μνῆστιν ἔχεν (3.289-290). Likewise, when preparing to meet Jason, she goes forgetful of her woes: στεῖβε πέδον λήθῃ ἀχέων (3.835).

The two gifts of poetry, fame and the pleasure derived from the forgetfulness of cares, figure prominently in the decisive meeting between Jason and Medea, where Medea decides to help the handsome young stranger (3.975-1145). Jason promises Medea two rewards in return for her aid: marriage to him and fame in Greece for having been the savior of the Argonauts. By helping Jason, Medea is

19. Nagy 1990a.58-61.

to acquire οὔνομα καὶ καλὸν κλέος (3.992). Κλέος is properly the possession of an epic hero, whose glory is guaranteed by the epic tradition. Apollonius playfully strains the conventions of his genre by alluding to the poetry's recognized function within the poem itself, a self-conscious technique in which Homer earlier indulged.[20] The poet also links love and poetry again, since both are involved in Jason's double promise; he promises κλέος, the traditional gift of epic poetry, and marriage, which will legitimize Medea's love for him.

Medea's contribution, the drugs that will protect Jason from the fiery breath of the brazen bulls, represents the other gift of poetry: the banishment of care. Apollonius consistently refers to these drugs, φάρμακα, as θελκτήρια, "enchanting" (3.738, 3.766, 3.821). We have already seen how forms of θέλγω function as a leitmotiv for the power of love and of poetry. Θελκτήρια also recalls the term Penelope uses to describe the subjects of care-banishing poetry when she makes her request of Phemius. In fact, one Apollonian passage that contains the phrase θελκτήρια φάρμακα also contains another phrase that we have seen to be an echo of the *Odyssey*, ἐν στήθεσσι κέαρ:

> ὣς δὲ καὶ ἐν στήθεσσι κέαρ ἐλελίζετο κούρης,
> φῇ δέ οἱ ἄλλοτε μὲν θελκτήρια φάρμακα ταύρων
> δωσέμεν.
>
> *Argonautica* 3.760, 766-767
>
> [So the heart within the girl's breast trembled, and sometimes she decided she'd give him the enchanting drugs.]

This is the order of the lines according to Fränkel's transposition,[21] but even without the transposition, the two phrases that evoke the Odyssean passage occur in close proximity.

Medea's gifts of φάρμακα, which will relieve Jason's worries about the fire-breathing bulls, are in this way assimilated to the care-

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20. The most obvious instance occurs at *Iliad* 6.356-358, where Helen says that Zeus made her a subject worthy of poetry: εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο κυνὸς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ' ἄτης, / οἷσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μόρον, ὡς καὶ ὀπίσσω / ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ' ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι [because of me, the dog, and the folly of Alexander, on whom Zeus has placed this evil fortune, so that we might be the subject of poetry for men in the future]. For more on Helen, see Austin 1975.127-128. Cf. *Odyssey* 8.579-580: τὸν δὲ θεοὶ μὲν τεύξαν, ἐπικλώσαντο δ' ὄλεθρον / ἀνθρώποις ἵνα ᾖσι καὶ ἐσομένοισιν ἀοιδή [for the gods brought about (the end of Troy), and assigned its destruction, so that there would be a song for men in the future].

21. See Fränkel 376 on 3.755-760 for his motives for this transposition.

banishing power of poetry. At the same time, Medea's decision to offer the drugs is closely tied to her yielding to Jason's seduction. To give the drugs is an expression of her acceptance of her passion for him; to withhold the drugs is to repress her love. This is especially clear at the crucial moment when she actually hands Jason the drug:

> Προπρὸ δ' ἀφειδήσασα θυώδεος ἔξελε μίτρης
> φάρμακον· αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' αἶψα χεροῖν ὑπέδεκτο γεγηθώς.
>
> *Argonautica* 3.1013-1014
>
> [Readily she took from her fragrant folds the drug, and he, rejoicing, quickly took it in his hands.]

Medea takes the drugs from her μίτρη, where she has been hiding them until this point. The μίτρη, or "maiden's girdle," is often used metonymically in poetry to refer to a woman's chastity.[22] Therefore Medea symbolically offers up her virginity along with the drug. As Jason's promise, combining the rewards of fame and marriage, links love with one aspect of poetry, Medea's gift links erotic love with another aspect of poetry, the enchantment that banishes care. In the exchange between Jason and Medea, the two major aspects of poetry are combined: the preservation of fame and the pleasure derived from being enchanted. This event, rather than Jason's accomplishment of the labors set before him, is the truly decisive moment in the plot of Book 3, since his attainment of the drugs virtually guarantees his success. Moreover, since Book 3 is in many ways the focus of the *Argonautica*, this particular moment may be seen as the climax of the entire epic. It is fitting that the two products of epic poetry—fame and the pleasure of enchantment—should be united in this crucial passage.

These two functions of poetry, the preservation of fame and the bestowal of pleasure, are inherent in the first two lines of Penelope's speech: Φήμιε, πολλὰ γὰρ ἄλλα βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδας, ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί. Apollonius alludes to these lines not only in Book 3, as discussed, but also at the very start of his epic, foreshadowing the development of this theme later in the poem. The second line quoted above is the only one in Homer to end with the phrase κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί. Apollonius ends two lines (1.18, 1.59) with

22. As when Medea assures Arete that she is still a virgin (4.1024-1025): Ἔτι μοι μίτρη μένει, ὡς ἐνὶ πατρὸς / δώμασιν, ἄχραντος καὶ ἀκήρατος. Cf. Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 75.45; Moschus *Europa* 73, 164; *Anthologia Palatina* 6.276.4.

these words, exactly reproducing Homer's words and their metrical position.[23] The first appearance of the phrase occurs when the poet dismisses the prospect of dwelling on how the *Argo* was constructed, and states his intention to begin his catalogue of heroes:

> Νῆα μὲν οὖν οἱ πρόσθεν ἔτι κλείουσιν ἀοιδοὶ
> Ἄργον Ἀθηναίης καμέειν ὑποθημοσύνῃσι·
> Νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην
> ἡρώων, δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἁλὸς ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν
> πλαζόμενοι· Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς.
> Πρῶτά νυν Ὀρφῆος μνησώμεθα, τόν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὴ
> Καλλιόπη Θρήικι φατίζεται εὐνηθεῖσα
> Οἰάγρῳ σκοπιῆς Πιμπληίδος ἄγχι τεκέσθαι.
> Αὐτὰρ τόν γ' ἐνέπουσιν ἀτειρέας οὔρεσι πέτρας
> θέλξαι ἀοιδάων ἐνοπῇ ποταμῶν τε ῥέεθρα·
> Φηγοὶ δ' ἀγριάδες, κείνης ἔτι σήματα μολπῆς,
> ἄκτῇ Θρηικίῃ Ζώνης ἔπι τηλεθόωσαι
> ἐξείης στιχόωσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ἃς ὅγ' ἐπιπρὸ
> θελγομένας φόρμιγγι κατήγαγε Πιερίηθεν.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.18-31

> [The ship, then, as the singers of old still recall, Argus built under Athena's direction. Now might I relate the lineage and the names of the heroes, and the paths of the vast sea, and what they did as they wandered. May the Muses prompt my song. First let us recall Orpheus, whom Calliope herself, having slept with Oeagrus, is said to have borne in Thrace, near the Pimpleian peak. And they say this man charmed the adamant rocks in the mountains with the strain of his songs, and also the streams of the rivers. And the wild oaks are to this day evidence of that music, flourishing on the Thracian shore of Zone, standing close together in a row, which he led there from Pieria, enchanted by his lyre.]

Hard upon the echo of κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί follows the description of Orpheus, whose outstanding characteristic is his ability to enchant even inanimate objects with his poetry. The two forms of the verb θέλγω (θέλξαι, θελγομένας) recall the θελκτήρια of Penelope's speech and foreshadow the importance enchantment will have later in the poem. Apollonius completes another line with this formula not many lines later (1.59). Although the repetition may well be due to a scribal

23. On the appearance of this phrase in Apollonius' proem, cf. Clauss 1993.21-22. The line-ending is also copied by Callimachus *Hymn to Apollo* 18.

error, [24] possibly it is a reaffirmation of the importance of Penelope's speech as a subtext.

The assimilation of love and epic poetry is, in fact, already present in Homer, in the speech of Penelope to which we have often referred. Consider again the last two lines of her speech: τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ποθέω μεμνημένη αἰεὶ / ἀνδρός, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (1.342-343). Penelope's desire, indicated by ποθέω, is directly related to her memory of Odysseus. She longs for him, always remembering him, μεμνημένη αἰεί. To remember and recall is the role of the epic poet. This is underscored by Penelope's emphasis on Odysseus' κλέος—another word especially evocative of epic poetry. Both words occur in Apollonius' initial invocation. The formula concluding Penelope's speech, which describes Odysseus' fame, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, appears twice more in the *Odyssey* (4.726, 4.816). It always comes from the mouth of Penelope as she expresses her grief over her absent husband. By consistently linking her desire for Odysseus with his κλέος, Penelope provides a precedent for Apollonius' more extensive treatment of the association between love and poetry. Recall, too, that when Odysseus and Penelope are finally reunited, love and poetry are also joined; after they have enjoyed making love, Penelope and Odysseus enjoy recalling for one another their experiences during their long separation: τὼ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν φιλότητος ἑταρπήτην ἐρατεινῆς, / τερπέσθην μυθοίσι (23.300-301).

While much of the language of *Argonautica* 3 assimilates Medea's lovesickness to the effect of poetry on its audience, there are times when Medea is instead assimilated to the role of the poet.[25] This assimilation does not disturb the parallels Apollonius draws between Medea in love and an audience experiencing a poetic performance; as we have seen from Plato's *Ion*, the power of the Muses can be thought to extend from the goddesses themselves, through the poet, to the audience. That Medea is sometimes assimilated to audience, sometimes to poet, reinforces the sense Apollonius constantly works

24. Cf. Fränkel 47 on 1.59.

25. Again, the *Odyssey* provides a precedent. Odysseus is likened to a poet not only when he tells of his adventures but even when he is engaged in other activities; when the hero strings his bow soon before his slaughter of the suitors, Homer compares him to a poet stringing his lyre (21.404-409). See Austin 1975.247, 251 and Segal 1983.36-37, 45-46.

to convey that his poetry creates a bond encompassing his subject, his audience, and his narrator.

We have already remarked that lines 3.451-452, πολλὰ δὲ θυμῷ / ὥρμαιν', ὅσσα τ' Ἔρωτες ἐποτρύνουσι μέλεσθαι, which describe Medea's thoughts, echo the invocation of Book 3. In fact, most of the words in this sentence encourage associations with passages describing poetic activity, both within the *Argonautica* and in other works such as the *Odyssey*. Marshall Gillies comments on Ἔρωτες that "Apollonius has descended to the banalities of the ordinary Alexandrine erotic poetry in writing of more than one Eros."[26] Gillies complains that Apollonius should have been consistent and always referred to a single Eros. The plural form is actually significant; it echoes the name of Erato more closely than would the singular Eros.[27] Apollonius' vacillation between designating the deity in the singular or the plural in itself recalls the Muses, who are at times referred to in the plural, at other times in the singular. Elsewhere language appropriate for the role of the Muses is applied to the Erotes. When the crow sent by Hera reproaches Mopsus for his supposed ignorance of erotic matters, it concludes its speech by saying, οὐδέ σε Κύπρις / οὔτ' ἀγανοὶ φιλέοντες ἐπιπνείουσιν Ἔρωτες [Neither Cypris nor the dear Erotes breathe upon you] (3.936-937). Ἐπιπνέω, "to breathe upon," is a term evocative of the Muse's inspiration.[28]

Another word evocative of poetic inspiration at lines 451-452, πολλὰ δὲ θυμῷ / ὥρμαιν', ὅσσα τ' Ἔρωτες ἐπιτρύνουσι μέλεσθαι, is ὥρμαινε. Gillies and Vian both offer *Odyssey* 7.82, which describes Odysseus thinking to himself as he walks to the palace of Alcinous, and *Odyssey* 23.85, which describes Penelope's thoughts, as models for the first half of this sentence. Hunter suggests *Odyssey* 19.516, which describes Penelope longing for Odysseus. As valid as these suggestions are, there is a third model: *Odyssey* 8.499, which describes Demodocus receiving inspiration and beginning his song: ὁ δ'

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26. Gillies 1928 on 3.452; cf. Couat 1931.326.

27. For a different explanation of the plural form, cf. Paduano 1972.100-101.

28. Apollonius is here indebted to Callimachus, who uses the same language in connection with a talking crow in the *Hecale*: ὡς Θριαὶ τὴν γρηῦν ἐπινείουσι κορώνην (fr. 260.50 Pfeiffer = fr. 74.9 Hollis). On the *Hecale*'s influence on Apollonius, see Hollis 1990.27. Callimachus applies the language of inspiration not to the seductive power of Eros but rather to the mantic inspiration of the Θριαί (pebbles used in divination or, more likely, Nymphs of Parnassus associated with the Delphic oracle. See Hollis's comments ad loc.). Thus we see Callimachus, like Apollonius, interested in maintaining the archaic association of poetry and prophecy.

ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἄρχετο, φαῖνε δ' ἀοιδήν. We discussed earlier how this line is an important model for the invocation of Book 1, based on the verb ἄρχω. This Odyssean line, then, is paradigmatic for describing the nature of poetic inspiration, and so ὁρμάω, or its variant ὁρμαίνω, is, like ἐπιπνέω, evocative of divine poetic inspiration.[29]

The same is true of ἐπιτρύνω, which appears in another description of the bard Demodocus' composition of poetry. At *Odyssey* 8.43-45, Alcinous bids Demodocus be summoned to perform: καλέσασθε δὲ θεῖον ἀοιδόν, / Δημόδοκον· τῷ γάρ ῥα θεὸς πέρι δῶκεν ἀοιδὴν / τέρπειν, ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν ἀείδειν [Call the divine singer, Demodocus, for god gave him the ability to delight, in whatever way his heart urges him to sing]. Apollonius' words resemble Homer's not only in the common word ἐπιτρύνω but in the close similarity of the grammatical structure of ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐπιτρύνῃσιν ἀείδειν and ὅσσα τ' Ἔρωτες ἐπιτρύνουσι μέλεσθαι.

Apollonius also casts Medea as poet by having Medea's words sometimes echo the narrator's. While waiting for Jason to arrive for their meeting, Medea exhorts her handmaidens to take delight with her in song: εἰ δ' ἄγε μολπῇ θυμὸν ἀφειδείως κορέσωμεν / μειλιχίῃ (3.897-898). Medea's exhortation resembles the poet's request for aid from Erato in Book 3's invocation, since both pleas begin with the very unusual interjection εἰ δ' ἄγε, which we have seen conspicuously repeated elsewhere. Moreover, Medea's request is for a commencement of song, μολπή, as is Apollonius' request of Erato, since song and poetry are, in Greek poetry, interchangeable terms.[30]

Medea's actions are also similar to a poet's in passages where she emerges as a powerful figure who has great control over others by means of her incantations. Early in Book 4, she helps Jason obtain the golden fleece by incapacitating its guardian dragon. She does this by enchanting it, and the emphatic use of θέλγω recalls the manner in which she herself was ensnared by love. She calls upon the aid of the god Sleep in order to enchant the monster, θέλξαι τέρας (4.147). Her success is indicated when the dragon is described two lines later:

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29. Plato, too, apparently took ὁρμάω as particularly evocative of inspiration's effect. In the *Ion*, Plato represents inspiration as a chain: ὁρμαθός, perhaps a pun on the participle ὁρμηθείς of *Odyssey* 8.499. Plato, like Apollonius, draws on Homer's description of the inspired Demodocus for his own treatment of the theme of inspiration. (The other Odyssean bard, Phemius, is mentioned by name at *Ion* 533c.1.)

30. Μολπή can mean "play" or "games" as well as "song". For Apollonius' use of the term, and Hellenistic opinion about its meaning in Homer, see Livrea on 4.894.

αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἤδη / οἴμῃ θελγόμενος (4.149-150). Οἴμη, often used in epic as a word for poetry, underscores the poetic aspect of Medea's magic.

Medea's enchantment of the brazen giant Talos is quite similar. She needs to procure the help of the Κῆρες to cast the evil eye upon Talos, and she does this through song: ἔνθα δ' ἀοιδῇσιν μειλίσσετο, θέλγε δὲ Κῆρας (4.1665).[31] Talos' destruction is described in terms reminiscent of Medea's undoing by Eros. Medea's power causes Talos to scrape a vein in his ankle, the one vulnerable spot in his body, against a jagged rock; his divine ichor pours forth from the wound and, with it, his life. This ichor is likened to molten lead: ἐκ δέ οἱ ἰχὼρ / τηκομένῳ ἴκελος μολίβῳ ῥέεν (4.1679-1680). The verb τήκω appears in only one other passage in the *Argonautica*, in the crucial passage where Medea gives Jason the magic drugs.[32] It is repeated emphatically at the beginning of two consecutive lines, to describe Medea's internal reaction to her desire for Jason. The passage depicting Medea's bewitchment and destruction of Talos is in many ways a sinister perversion of the tender scene in Book 3:

> Καὶ νύ κέ οἱ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπὸ στηθέων ἀρύσασα
> ψυχὴν ἐγγυάλιξεν ἀγαιομένη χατέοντι·
> τοῖος ἀπὸ ξανθοῖο καρήατος Αἰσονίδαο
> στράπτεν ἔρως ἠδεῖαν ἀπὸ φλόγα, τῆς δ' ἀμαρυγὰς
> ὀφθαλμῶν ἥρπαζεν· ἰαίνετο δὲ φρένας εἴσω
> τηκομένη, οἷόν τε περὶ ῥοδέεσσιν ἐέρση
> τήκεται ἠῴοισιν ἰαινομένη φαέεσσιν.
>
> *Argonautica* 3.1015-1021

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31. Vian 3 on 4.1667 rejects θέλγε and adopts instead the manuscript variant μέλπε, arguing that θέλγω should only be used to describe the force used upon the object of one's enchantment and that the Ceres are not the object but the instrument of Medea's power. In his next comment, however, Vian actually voices the greatest objection to his decision. He lists three other occurrences of μέλπω in connection with ἀοιδή (1.569, 1.1225; 2.714) and notes that in these instances, there is no suggestion of the power of magic. This is, of course, because μέλπω has no connotations of magical powers as does θέλγω, exactly the connotations needed in the Talos episode. Moreover, to consider the question from the viewpoint of paleography, it is much easier to see how a scribe might corrupt θέλγε to μέλπε because of the similarity of letters in the preceding word, μειλίσσετο, than the other way around. Fränkel 1961 and Livrea adopt θέλγε.

32. The noun τηκεδών, however, occurs at 4.902, to describe the wasting with which the Sirens consume the victims of their song, a passage discussed in the next chapter. It is appropriate that Apollonius uses the imagery of melting only to describe the power of love, of poetry, and of magic, three forces he assimilates in other ways elsewhere.

> [And now she would have drawn her entire soul from her breast and given it to him, rejoicing in his desire, for such love flashed from the fair head of Aesonides, a sweet flame, and he seized the sparkling of her eyes. Her wits warmed within her as she melted, just as the dew upon roses melts, warmed by the dawn's light.]

Medea's willingness to give Jason the soul from her breast is echoed in the Talos passage by the life literally streaming from the giant's wound; the flickers of love in Medea's eyes have become the glare with which she ensnares Talos (4.1669-1670), and the soft warmth in her heart, like the warmth of the simile's morning sun upon dewy roses, is now the intense heat implied by the image of the molten lead.[33]

The Talos episode also recalls the moment when Medea first fell in love with Jason. There, we noted, she glanced indirectly at Jason through her veil: ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ὄμματα κούρη / λοξὰ παρὰ λιπαρὴν σχομένη θηεῖτο καλύπτρην (3.444-445). She now holds the folds of her cloak before her face in a similar fashion: ἡ δὲ πτύχα πορφυρέοιο / προσχομένη πέπλοιο παρειάων ἑκάτερθεν (4.1661-1662). Possibly Medea does this to keep the power of her eyes from affecting anyone other than her target, but Hermann Fränkel is probably closer to identifying the correct reason when he states that she veils her eyes so as not to distract herself from her magic.[34] The veil symbolizes the ecstatic state Medea assumes as she achieves a spiritual link with the awful powers of the underworld and thereby becomes something more than human. Able to subdue the giant Talos with her incantations, Medea is much more powerful than her companions in the *Argo*, and the gulf that separates her from them, and her union with the infernal deities, is represented by the veiling of her eyes.

Medea's awesome power is disturbing, so much so that the poet breaks into an apostrophe to Zeus expressing his amazement (4.1673-1677). Medea's capacity for destruction darkly forshadows deeds she will commit beyond the scope of the *Argonautica*: the murderous crimes portrayed in Euripides' play. At the same time, her powers reflect on the *Argonautica* itself. Since she destroys Talos with songs, the tools of the poet, Talos' death creates a sense of uneasiness about poetry's effect. The darker side of poetry's effects, its power to deceive, was hinted at in Book 3, with the dubious behavior of

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33. Cf. Hunter 1993.61-62 on the murder of Apsyrtus.

34. Fränkel 614 on 4.1660-1664.

Eros/Erato. In the Talos episode, it is brought to the foreground.[35] The duplicitous power of poetry is embodied in the epithet used of Medea in this episode: πολυφάρμακος (4.1677). Φάρμακον can, of course, mean either "remedy" or "poison," the polysemy of which provides the basis for Derrida's famous essay on the use of the word in Plato's *Phaedrus*.[36] Both meanings apply to Medea's magic; she provides Jason with a "remedy" against the strength of the bulls, yet elsewhere, as with Talos, her magic has a much more destructive purpose. Medea's sometimes disturbing actions invite the audience to consider the implications of the effect that the φάρμακον they are presently experiencing, that is, the *Argonautica*, has on them.[37]

Medea is not the only character to appropriate the role of poet in Book 3: we have already remarked that Jason's promise of κλέος is one properly made by a poet. This promise itself figures in Jason's attempt at another effect traditionally produced by poetry: persuasion (πειθώ). Pindar draws on this aspect of poetry in his much briefer description of the seduction of Medea, stating that Aphrodite herself taught Jason how to win over Medea:

> λιτάς τ' ἐπαοιδὰς
> ἐκδιδάσκησεν σοφὸν Αἰσονίδαν,
> ὄφρα Μηδείας τοκέων ἀφέλοιτ' αἰ-
> δῶ, ποθεινὰ δ' Ἑλλὰς αὐτὰν
> ἐν φρᾶσι καιομέναν δονέοι μάστιγι Πειθοῦς.
>
> *Pythian* 4.217-219
>
> [She taught Aesonides to be skillful in prayers and enchanting songs, so that he could dispel Medea's respect for her parents, and a desire for Hellas would drive her with the whip of Persuasion as she burned in her heart.]

Aphrodite, in effect, gives Jason the skill of a poet: she teaches him ἐπαοιδαί, a word evocative a poetry. She also makes him σοφός. Elsewhere, both within *Pythian* 4 (248, 295) and in other poems, Pindar refers to his poetry as σοφία and to those skilled in poetry as σοφοί.[38] Pindar, like Apollonius, assimilates one of his characters to the narrator's persona. The passage contains other similarities to

35. Cf. the appearance, also in Book 4, of the Sirens, talented singers who are decidedly malevolent (4.885-919). This passage is discussed on pp. 115-116 below.

36. Derrida 1981.

37. Cf. the interpretation of the ecphrasis of *Argonautica* 1 proposed by George 1972.

38. Segal 1986.22-23.

Apollonius' poetry; Aphrodite inspires Jason in a manner evocative of both love and poetry, just as Erato and Eros inspire Medea, and the description of Medea burning with desire resembles such imagery often used in the *Argonautica*.

It is thus not surprising that the invocation of *Argonautica* 3 contains a clear echo of Pindar's invocation in *Pythian* 4. Apollonius asks Erato to stand by him—παρά θ' ἵστασο—as he tells of the events of *Argonautica* 3, and this request evokes the opening of *Pythian* 4: Σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ στᾶμεν.[39] Not only does the invocation of Book 3 echo that of *Pythian* 4, but the arrangement of the three invocations of the *Argonautica* replicates the structure of Pindar's ode.

Nothing could be more different from Apollonius' careful alignment of the chronological progression of the Argonaut myth with the unfolding of his narrative than Pindar's rapid and nimble leaps back and forth among the heroic age of the Argonauts, the era of Battus' foundation of Cyrene, and the poet's own time. Even within the period of the Argonautic expedition, Apollonius differs from Pindar in certain matters of chronology, such as having the Argonauts visit Lemnos on the outward voyage to Colchis, instead of on the return trip, as in *Pythian* 4. However, the sequence of deities invoked in the *Argonautica* mirrors the arrangement of gods figuring in *Pythian* 4. Pindar at first addresses the Muse, but then his attention switches immediately to Apollo, since his poem will celebrate the victory of Arcesilaus at the Pythian games. The Muses' role is to aid Pindar in creating the song owed to Apollo:

> Σάμερον μὲν χρή σε παρ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ
> στᾶμεν, εὐίππου βασιλῆι Κυράνας,
> ὄφρα κωμάζοντι σὺν Ἀρκεσίλᾳ,
> Μοῖσα, Λατοίδαισιν ὀφειλόμενον Πύ-
> θῶνί τ' αὔξῃς οὖρον ὕμνων
>
> *Pythian* 4.1-3

39. Fränkel 328 on 3.1 offers *Iliad* 11.314 and 17.179 (= *Odyssey* 22.233) as models, but these lines are similar only in the language; the context is not that of invocation. Rengakos 1993.70-71 sees *Iliad* 10.291 (νῦν μοι ἐθέλουσα παρίστασο) as the model. This is slightly closer in context, as *Iliad* 10.291 forms part of Diomedes' request to Athena for divine help, but the help requested is assistance on the battlefield. More germane is Campbell 1982 ad loc., who offers, in addition to *Pythian* 4, two more parallels from invocations: Pindar *Olympian* 3.4, Μοῦσα . . . παρέστα μοι, and Empedocles fr. 131.3, εὐχομένῳ νῦν αὖτε παρίστασο.

> [Muse, today you must stand beside a dear man, the king of Cyrene, blessed in horses so that as I celebrate with Arcesilaus, you may increase the gale of song for me, which is owed the children of Leto at Pytho.]

The mention of Delphi (Pytho) provides an easy transition to the subject of prophecies concerning Battus' foundation of Cyrene. In Book 1 of the *Argonautica*, Apollonius addresses an elaborate invocation to Phoebus and also assigns the Muses a role that seems subordinate to Apollo's, not mentioning them until line 22: Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς.[40] Like Pindar, he uses Apollo's oracle as a transition from invocation to subject, this time not the oracles concerning Battus, but those regarding Pelias and Jason.

Apollo and his oracles figure prominently throughout the first section of *Pythian* 4, but once the Argonauts arrive in Colchis, emphasis is placed rather on Aphrodite and the seduction of Medea. A hint of this transition comes at lines 87-88, where the Iolcians wonder who Jason is: Οὔ τί που οὗτος Ἀπόλλων, οὐδὲ μὰν χαλκάρματός ἐστι πόσις Ἀφροδίτας [He is not Apollo, nor Aphrodite's husband, who has a brazen chariot].[41] A similar transition occurs in the *Argonautica*, where Apollo, who appears so prominently in the first two books of the *Argonautica*, recedes far into the background once the Argonauts near Colchis. His exit from the forefront of the action is conspicuous; at 2.674-680, Apollo makes an epiphany to the Argonauts, crossing their path as he makes his way far north to the land of the Hyperboreans. As some have noted, his sojourn in Hyperborea signifies a removal from the action, much as Poseidon's stay with the Aethiopians indicates his absence in *Odyssey* 1.[42] In place of Apollo, Erato is invoked in Book 3, and she performs much the same role as Aphrodite in *Pythian* 4.

Near the end of his ode, Pindar returns to addressing Apollo, calling upon him in his aspect of healer at line 270, and as the tutelary deity of Cyrene at 294. Thus verses dealing with Apollo and his connections with Cyrene form a ring composition in *Pythian* 4. So too, Apollo reappears in dramatic fashion near the end of the *Argonautica*, when he responds to the pleas of Jason to help the Argonauts escape the impenetrable gloom that envelops them after they leave Crete

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40. Cf. pp. 20-22 above.

41. Segal 1986.29. Segal places great emphasis on the polarity between Apollo and Aphrodite in *Pythian* 4 and discusses it extensively, especially on pp. 15-29.

42. This passage is discussed at greater length on pp. 111-112 below.

(4.1706-1710). Just as his epiphany in Book 2 was characterized by gleaming light, so is his appearance in Book 4, and thus, as in Pindar, Apollo's appearances create a ring composition for the *Argonautica*. Apollonius evokes his Pindaric model even more strongly by introducing verses concerning a major topic of *Pythian* 4, Euphemus and the foundation of Cyrene, immediately after the Argonauts perform thanks to Apollo for rescuing them from darkness (4.1731-1764). Apollonius brings up this subject in a rather contrived manner that may betray his eagerness to allude to Pindar. Euphemus suddenly remembers a dream he had the previous night about the clod of earth that he received from Triton while the Argonauts were in Libya. Jason advises Euphemus to cast the clod into the sea; the clod is destined to become the island of Thera, from where Battus will one day lead a colony to found Cyrene (cf. *Pythian* 4.26-57).[43]

Apollonius' adaptation of the Pindaric pattern of Apollo-Aphrodite-Apollo receives further attention in the next chapter; let us here recapitulate the triple enchantment of *Argonautica* 3. Within the action of the plot (the story), the enchantment is wrought upon Medea. Apollonius' manipulation of the story's narrative assimilates Medea's experience to that of the narrator and his audience, since by likening Medea's lovesickness to the experience of composing poetry or witnessing a performance of poetry, Apollonius makes Medea, the narrator, and the audience appear to be involved in analogous activities. Hence, the enchantment of Medea transcends the story and reaches into the narrating of the poem, ensnaring poet and audience. Apollonius creates this threefold enchantment in three ways: by employing verbal correspondences within the *Argonautica* that link love and poetry; by using vocabulary regularly associated in the Greek tradition with poetic inspiration to describe Medea's lovesickness; and by modeling passion's effect on Medea on specific passages in the *Odyssey* that portray poetry's effect on Penelope and Odysseus. All this makes the poetry more immediate for its audience, who are encouraged to feel the same emotions as the central character of Book 3, Medea. Apollonius achieves by means of structural elements in his poetry what Plato states Ion can achieve during an inspired performance.

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43. For a detailed comparison, along structuralist lines, of Pindar's and Apollonius' treatment of the Euphemus myth, see Calame 1990.

5

Argonautica 4: Ἡ Δολιχὴ Οἴμη

Apollonius begins Book 4 of the *Argonautica* with what is by far the most Homeric of the invocations in his epic:

> Αὐτὴ νῦν κάματόν γε, θεά, καὶ δήνεα κούρης
> Κολχίδος ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, Διὸς τέκος· ἦ γὰρ ἔμοιγε
> ἀμφασίῃ νόος ἔνδον ἐλίσσεται, ὁρμαίνοντι
> ἠέ μιν ἄτης πῆμα δυσίμερον ἦ τό γ' ἐνίσπω
> φύζαν ἀεικελίην ἧ κάλλιπεν ἔθνεα Κόλχων.
>
> *Argonautica* 4.1-5
>
> [Now you yourself goddess, Muse, Zeus' child, also tell about the anguish and thoughts of the Colchian girl; for indeed my mind within me is in a whirl of speechlessness, as I ponder whether I should say it was disastrous lovesickness or shameful fear that made her abandon the Colchian tribes.]

Unlike Apollonius' other invocations, this one contains clear echoes of Homeric invocations. Luigi Rossi notes the exact echo of the first line of the *Odyssey* in ἔννεπε Μοῦσα and also suggests that θεά recalls the invocation of the *Iliad*, μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά.[1] Enrico Livrea points out that the line can be viewed as a conflation of two lines from the *Odyssey*'s invocation: ἔννεπε Μοῦσα and θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν (*Odyssey* 1.10).[2] In this way, Apollonius echoes the line beginning the *Odyssey*'s proem and the one that concludes it.

The Odyssean echoes are fitting for this book of the *Argonautica*, in which many of the same characters who appear in the *Odyssey* make an appearance or at least receive mention: Circe, Alcinous and Arete, Scylla and Charybdis, the Sirens. Echoes of Homer are also especially fitting here because in this invocation and in this book, Apollonius

1. Rossi 1968.159.
2. Livrea 3.

adopts a much more Homeric relationship to the Muses than he does in his earlier invocations. Apollonius gives the Muse full responsibility: αὐτὴ . . . ἔννεπε [you yourself tell]. This direct appeal to the Muse in the very first line is much more emphatic than the wish he expresses some twenty lines into Book 1 that the Muses act as ὑποφήτορες and prompt his song. This appeal also grants the Muse more authority than the roughly equal role implied by Apollonius' request for the Muse to stand by his side in Book 3. Apollonius' deferential appeal to the Muse in Book 4 is akin to Homer's expression of total dependence on his Muse before relating the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.488-492). Apollonius articulates his relationship to the Muse by using forms of the same verb to describe the Muses' activity and his own: ἔννεπε and ἐνισπω.[3] By exactly repeating what the Muse tells him, an exactitude implied by the repetition of the same verb ἐννέπω, the poet casts himself as a subsitute for the goddess. Thus we have here an image of the traditional role of the poet in Archaic Greek poetry, the θεράπων of the Muses.[4]

A hint of what we might call Hellenistic bookishness, however, flavors this archaizing invocation. Whereas Homer claims complete dependence on his Muse for information, Apollonius requests help in choosing between two possibilities.[5] This plea for help in making a decision, a *krisis*, betrays the poet who also engages in literary criticism.[6] Alexandrian, too, is the way the poet employs a confession of ἀπορία, helplessness, to create a transition from the themes of Book 3 to those of Book 4. Edward Phinney observes that in Book 3, Medea's primary motive for her actions is her love for Jason, whereas in Book 4, it is her fear of Aeëtes. The invocation of Book 4 signals this change: "While pretending to be perplexed by the necessity of choosing between two alternative reasons for Medea's escape (love or fear), ... our poet was actually bridging the arbitrary and pre-arranged shift in motivational emphasis from love to fear."[7]

The invocation also continues to assimilate the poet's narrative persona to his characters much as do the invocations of *Argonautica* 1

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3. Hurst 1967.135.

4. Cf. p. 12 above.

5. Hunter 1987.134 observes that Apollonius, unlike Homer, expresses ignorance "not of action but of interpretation."

6. In this way, of course, Apollonius is like many poets of his era. Cf. Strabo's description of Philetas as *poiētēs* and also *kritikos* (15.657).

7. Phinney 1967.340-341; cf. Fusillo 1985.368.

and 3, since the poet's indecision reflects Medea's own doubt and bewilderment. The poet supports his identification with Medea by using the very rare Homeric word ἀμφασίη to describe his speechlessness, which recalls Medea's dumbfoundedness when she first becomes infatuated with Jason: τὴν δ'ἀμφασίη λάβε (3.284). G. O. Hutchinson recognizes that the poet is assigning himself a state of mind identical to Medea's when he states, "The intensity of the opening is dissolved as the poet makes his own emotion a ludicrous parody of his character's."[8] Hutchinson's label "ludicrous" trivializes what Apollonius effects here, as this is not an isolated "parody" of Medea but is one example of the assimilation of poet and character that is ubiquitous in the *Argonautica* and is one of the poet's essential narrative devices. Once again, the inspiration of the poet parallels the experience of his character. Here, the experience is bewilderment, and bewilderment will often be portrayed as dominating the minds of both narrator and characters for much of *Argonautica* 4.

The narrator's "confusion" is indicated by an increase in the number of appeals the poet makes to his Muse. Except for the formal invocations beginning Books 1 and 3, Apollonius explicitly appeals to the Muses only once (2.844-845) before Book 4. In *Argonautica* 4, the poet addresses the Muses three times in addition to the initial invocation (4.552-556, 4.984-985, 4.1381-1382). Lionel Pearson suggests that Apollonius invokes his Muses before relating stories that contain elements we would consider fantastic.[9] This is the explanation given by Fränkel and Vian for the invocation at 4.1381-1382, where Apollonius introduces the story that the Argonauts carried their ship for twelve days through Libya.[10] This is an unsatisfactory explanation, since the *Argonautica* contains numerous "fantastic" stories—the Harpies, the birds of Ares with arrows for feathers, men growing from dragon's teeth—that are preceded by no invocation; the answer must lie elsewhere.

Virgil provides an instructive parallel in his second invocation in the *Aeneid* :

> Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora rerum,
> quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem
> cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
> expediam, et primae revocabo exordia pugnae.

8. Hutchinson 1988.122.

9. Pearson 1938.446.

10. Fränkel 596-597 on 4.1382; Vian 3.194 on 4.1382.

> tu vatem, tu, diva, mone. dicam horrida bella,
> dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
> Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
> Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
> maius opus moveo.
>
> *Aeneid* 7.37-44

> [Now come, Erato—who the kings were, what the times of the affairs were, what the situation in Latium was when the foreign army first beached its fleet on the Ausonian shores, these things will I relate, and I will recall the origins of the first battle. Inspire your poet, goddess that you are. I shall tell of terrible wars, I shall tell of battle lines and kings driven by passion to their deaths, and the Tyrrhenian troops and all Hesperia forced under arms. A greater order of things is being born before me; I set out upon a greater task.]

The invocation is unmistakably inspired by Apollonius; marking off a new direction in the narrative with an invocation is an Apollonian practice, and Virgil appeals to Erato, the Muse Apollonius invokes in *Argonautica* 3.[11] Furthermore, what is seldom possible for a Latin poet evoking a Greek model, Virgil precisely echoes Apollonius' invocation, ἄγε νῦν, with *nunc age*. Virgil invokes Erato not because he is about to relate some incredible material but, as he says, because he has a greater task before him. R. D. Williams gives three reasons why Virgil regards the last six books of his epic as a more difficult task than the first six: "firstly because from the promise of Aeneas' destiny he now comes to the fulfillment; secondly because the account of battles is in a way more decisive and dramatic than the Odyssean books...; and thirdly because he is now to portray the character and achievements of the early ancestors of his own Italians."[12] The Roman poet also has much less in the way of models, Greek or Roman, for this section of his story, and so the composition of *Aeneid* 7-12 will tax his abilities and creativeness more than the first six books.

Argonautica 4 must likewise have been especially difficult for Apollonius to compose, but for a reason very different from Virgil's. Whereas Virgil faced a paucity of sources, Apollonius was confronted with a bewildering and conflicting array of accounts regarding the Argonauts' return to Greece. These accounts are summarized by the

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11. For an important difference, however, see G. Williams 1968.35-36.
12. R. D. Williams 1973.169.

scholiast on the *Argonautica* (4.257-262b). He reports that Hesiod, Pindar (*cf. Pythian* 4.26), and Antimachus in his *Lyde* all had the Argonauts sail from the River Phasis in Colchis to the stream of Ocean, thence to Libya, from there overland to the Mediterranean, and back to Greece. Hecataeus also had them pass from the Phasis to Ocean, but from there to the Nile, and then into the Mediterranean and back to Greece. Herodorus, who wrote a rationalizing account of the Argonaut myth, simply had them return by the route they took to Colchis (*FGrH* 31F10).[13] Timagetus, in his *Peri Limenôn*, gave the heroes an itinerary through a fantastic system of rivers in Europe, and his is the account Apollonius chose roughly to follow.[14] Thus when Apollonius makes this rather desperate appeal to the Muses, he expresses anxiety about the conflicts in the tradition regarding the Argonauts' return:

> Ἀλλά, θεαί, πῶς τῆσδε παρὲξ ἁλός, ἀμφί τε γαῖαν
> Αὐσονίην νήσους τε Λιγυστίδας, αἳ καλέονται
> Στοιχάδες, Ἀργῴης περιώσια σήματα νηὸς
> νημερτὲς πέφαται; Τίς ἀπόπροθι τόσσον ἀνάγκη
> καὶ χρειὼ σφ' ἐκόμισσε; Τίνες σφεὰς ἤγαγον αὖραι;
>
> *Argonautica* 4.552-556

> [But, goddesses, how is it that outside this sea, and about the Ausonian land and the Ligystian Islands, which are called the Stoichades, measureless traces of the *Argo* are surely recorded? What compulsion and need carried them so far away? What winds drove them on?]

The expression νημερτὲς πέφαται underscores that the poet is thinking about other treatments of the Argonaut story. Similarly, at 4.1381-1383, Apollonius invokes the Muses not so much because the story he is relating about the Argonauts carrying their ship for twelve days is incredible, as because the story is one inherited from the literary tradition (cf. *Pythian* 4.25-26).

Apollonius' manner of linking the Muses with his dependence on literary sources is analogous to the practice of Callimachus, who does it in a fashion much more openly bookish. After relating the love story of Acontius and Cydippe, Callimachus claims he found the tale in the writings of Xenomedes, a fifth-century logographer; it is from there

13. As did Callimachus. See Pfeiffer's apparatus on fr. 9.

14. On the Argonauts' navigation of the Danube, Po, and the Rhone, see Delage 1930.220-236; on the return trip in general, see ibid.192-276.

that the story of Acontius found its way to Callimachus' "Muse": ἔνθεν ὁ πα[ι]δὸς μῦθος ἐς ἡμετέρην ἔδραμε Καλλιόπην (*Aetia* fr. 75.76-77). It is interesting that what is a hallmark of the oral poet (the request of the Muse to help him deliver a successful performance) becomes, in the works of Hellenistic poets like Callimachus and Apollonius, associated with careful deliberation among the written sources. Yet the two poets differ greatly in one respect: whereas Callimachus, at least in his *Aetia*, revels in calling attention to his researches and the scholarly nature of his poetry by actually naming his source, and indeed by representing his Muse as a deity who consults logographers,[15] Apollonius suppresses this quality and makes invocations with language appropriate for an oral performer.[16]

Apollonius' appeal to the Muses at 4.984-985 is intelligible only as the expression of the poet's difficulty caused by the disparities that can arise from the different treatments of a myth. Here, the poet mentions the sickle with which Cronus castrated his father Uranus and how this weapon fell to earth to become the sickle-shaped island of Corcyra. He interrupts his explanation with a request for pardon from the Muses: Ἵλατε, Μοῦσαι, οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος [Pardon me, Muses, not willingly do I relate the story of my predecessors]. Again Apollonius expresses hesitancy about the tradition he has inherited. Hermann Fränkel, among others, offers a line from Aratus (*Phaenomena* 637) as a parallel: Ἄρτεμις, ἱλήκοι· προτέρων λόγος . . . . He realizes, however, that this is rather different. In Aratus, pardon is asked of the deity who might be affronted by the story the poet relates. In Apollonius, this would be Cronus or Uranus, yet it is the Muses whose pardon is requested. As Fränkel rightly remarks, this places the Muses in conflict with the literary tradition, when these two should be harmonious, if not identical. "So bleibt mir die Stelle in ihrem Wesen unverständlich," concludes Fränkel.[17] Enrico Livrea discusses the problem at greater length and hits upon the answer when he remarks that in naming Corcyra as the fallen sickle of Cronus, Apollonius departs from Callimachus, who located the sickle at Zancle (Messana) in Sicily (*Aetia* fr. 43.69-71). The

15. As Bing 1988.27-28 comments on this passage, "[The Muses] are no longer the old epic goddesses who knew each thing because they were there; rather, [Callimachus'] is a well-read Muse."

16. Apollonius' and Callimachus' techniques are compared more fully in the next Chapter.

17. Fränkel 550 on 4.984.

invocation, Livrea suggests, underlines Apollonius' departure from Callimachus.[18] Apollonius' appeals to the Muses when he must choose among various versions of a myth are a natural outgrowth of Homeric practice. Homer invokes the Muses because he has no immediate knowledge of the past but knows only the fame of past events: ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα, ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν (*Iliad* 2.485-486). Apollonius, too, has only κλέος, preserved fame of past events, to work with, but for him, these famous stories are written down and stored in the Library, readily available for comparison with his own version.[19]

This made the composition of *Argonautica* 4 especially treacherous, yet Apollonius took advantage of the difficulty in navigating among conflicting traditions to revive the assimilation of poetic composition and seafaring achieved in Books 1 and 2. This, of course, ceased in Book 3, as the Argonauts remained stationary in Colchis. In Book 4, this technique becomes especially pronounced not only because the heroes are again sailing the *Argo* but because the necessity of choosing among different traditions lends itself to using metaphors of journeying. Otfrid Becker observes that a poet of epinician is especially likely to envision his act of composition as a journey, since for every poem commissioned, there is a definite series of topics he must cover; the itinerary for his poetic journey has already been partially mapped out for him by tradition. The convention of epinician requires that he include aspects of the athletic victor's world, such as his homeland and its gods and heroes; the traditions concerning the locality of the athletic contest; and perhaps also references to earlier victories of the same type.[20] Apollonius, although he composed in a less restrictive genre, composed in an era when the weight of the literary tradition was much more constraining. While a poet such as Pindar needed to include the various subjects just mentioned, the epigonous Apollonius needed to address the numerous discrepancies among the many earlier treatments of the Argonaut myth. The most formidable aspect of this task was, as we said, the reconciliation of the wildly differing accounts of the Argonauts' itinerary.[21]

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18. Livrea 285-286.

19. Cf. Bing 1988.44 regarding Callimachus: "For Callimachus working in Egypt, . . . [the Muses] are virtually synonymous with the library of Alexandria."

20. Becker 1937.70.

21. Livrea xx-xxi.

One of the ways Apollonius returns to the close association of poetic composition with a journey is by manipulating the word οἶμος. This word, usually translated as "path" or "way," is based on the same root as οἴμη, a word used by epic poetry itself to mean "song" and usually translated as "path of song."[22] The ultimate origin of οἴμη may actually come not from the language of traveling but from the language of weaving, and mean "song-thread." This makes it part of the same system of metaphors that produced the term for poet/performers of epic, ῥαψῳδοί, "those who stitch together songs."[23] Indeed, in Homer even οἶμος does not have its customary meaning of "path." It occurs only once, at *Iliad* 11.24, where it refers to stripes on Agamemnon's shield. Although these stripes are made of metal, it is not hard to see how a word for "stripe" could emerge from the vocabulary of weaving, where stripes can be made by weaving with different colored thread. It is also easy to see how the same word could be used for both "stripe" and "path," since both describe the same sort of linear pattern but on a different scale. At any rate, after Homer, οἶμος regularly meant "path" or "way," and this is the meaning it has in Apollonius.

Because οἶμος appears only once in the Homeric epics, and then with a meaning that was unusual by Hellenistic times, its frequent appearance in Apollonius' epic may itself have been evocative of οἴμη, since the latter word is standard epic vocabulary. The association of οἶμος with οἴμη would have been made easier by the common combination of οἶμος with other words to mean the same thing as οἴμη: οἶμος ἀοιδῆς [path of song] (*Homeric Hymn* 4.451); ἐπέων οἶμον λιγύν [the sweet path of words] (Pindar *Olympian* 9.47); λύρης οἴμους [paths of the lyre] (Callimachus *Hymn* 1.78).[24] An evocation of the Homeric occurrences of οἴμη is especially significant for Apollonius' attempt to suffuse his text with references to divine inspiration because οἴμη in Homer is always associated with such inspiration:

> Μοῦσ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν,
> οἴμης τῆς τότ' ἄρα κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκανε.
>
> *Odyssey* 8.73-74

22. The same root appears in προοίμιον. See Becker 1937.36.

23. Nagy 1996.63-64.

24. Much later in the epic tradition, we see a collapse of the distinction between οἶμος and οἴμη: Quintus Smyrnaeus uses οἶμος fairly often (5.56, 5.331, 10.332, 11.456), but for him, οἶμος and οἴμη are interchangeable; at 7.320 and 9.508 he uses the latter without referring to poetry.

[The Muse urged the singer to sing the famous deeds of men, starting from the song whose fame then reached high heaven.][25]

πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδοὶ
τιμῆς ἔμμοροί εἰσι καὶ αἰδοῦς, οὕνεκ' ἄρα σφέας
οἵμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, φίλησε δὲ φῦλον ἀοιδῶν.

Odyssey 8.481

[For singers are endowed with honor and respect among men upon the earth, because the Muse has taught them paths of song and has given her love to the race of singers.]

αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἵμας
παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν.

Odyssey 22.347

[I am self-taught, but the god has planted in me paths of song of every kind.]

The first two passages refer to Demodocus; the third reports the words of Phemius. We have already noted the importance of these two Odyssean bards as models for Apollonius' portrayal of his poetic activity earlier in the *Argonautica;* Apollonius' audience will already have called these passages to mind before coming to Book 4 and its frequent use of οἶμος.

Οἶμος appears only in Book 4 because here Apollonius is especially hard put to choose the correct οἵμη, "path of song," to follow, just as the Argonauts have the greatest difficulty finding the correct οἶμος, "path," home. By using this term, which is especially evocative of poetry, rather than other words for "path" such as κέλευθος or ὁδός, Apollonius reminds his audience that he and they are traveling a route parallel to the Argonauts'.[26] The poet often uses other language or contexts in connection with οἶμος to strengthen the evocation of poetic composition.

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25. Nagy 1996.63 n.19 points out that the genitive of οἵμης here is "functionally a genitive of origin, parallel to the origin-marking adverb *hothen* 'starting from the very point where' in Pindar's representation of the *prooimion* at *Nemean* 2.1." For more on the proem of *Nemean* 2, see 6.

26. Terms other than οἶμος that signify "path" are used metaphorically of poetry in the Greek tradition, but these do not in themselves so strongly invite a metaphorical interpretation. Becker 1937.7-39 discusses all the terms signifying "way" and their metaphorical use in Greek.

Οἶμος appears very early in Book 4, in the passage describing Medea's nocturnal flight from home:

> Τῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτόματοι θυρέων ὑπόειξαν ὀχῆες,
> ὠκείαις ἄψορροι ἀναθρῴσκοντες ἀοιδαῖς.
> Γυμνοῖσιν δὲ πόδεσσιν ἀνὰ στεινὰς θέεν οἴμους
> λαιῇ μὲν χερὶ πέπλον ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν ἀμφὶ μέτωπα
> στειλαμένη καὶ καλὰ παρήια, δεξιτερῇ δὲ
> ἄκρην ὑψόθι πέζαν ἀερτάζουσα χιτῶνος.
>
> *Argonautica* 4.41-46
>
> [For her, even the bolts of the doors yielded of their own accord, springing back at the sound of her shrill incantations.[27] Barefoot she ran along the narrow paths, gathering her cloak with her left hand in front of her brow, about her forehead and lovely cheeks, and with her right hand drawing up high the hem of her dress.]

The appearance of ἀοιδαῖς, "incantations," in the line preceding οἴμους encourages an identification of οἶμος with οἴμη, "song," especially since both words appear at the end of consecutive lines. The single occurrence of οἴμη in the *Argonautica* only some one hundred lines later (4.150), again in connection with the powers of Medea's magical songs, sustains this association. Medea veils her eyes and cheeks, normal behavior for a secretly fleeing woman, but also an image we saw connected with the assimilation of love and poetry in Book 3, which takes its origin from passages in the *Odyssey* that portray Penelope's and Odysseus' reactions to poetry.

The detail that the paths Medea travels are narrow—στεινάς—adumbrates the difficulties awaiting the poet and his characters. It also makes a qualitative statement about the verses to follow, that they are the products of originality, in the same spirit as Apollo's advice to Callimachus:

> πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἀμαξαι
> τὰ στείβειν, ἑτέρων ἴχνια μὴ καθ' ὁμά
> δίφρον ἑλ]ᾶν μηδ' οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
> ἀτρίπτο]υς, εἰ καὶ στεινοτέρην ἐλάσεις.
>
> *Aetia* fr. 1.25-28

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27. *LSJ*, in explaining the uncommon sense of ὠκύς here, strangely takes ὠκείαις ἀοιδαῖς as describing the creaking sound made by the hinges. Livrea 19-20 summarizes the scholarship on the interpretation of this phrase.

> [And I bid you this, too: do not tread where the wagons pass, or drive your chariot along everybody's ruts on the wide path, but rather drive it along the roads untrodden, even if it means following a more narrow path.]

The close similarity in language—both poets use the terms στεινή and οἶμος—invites speculation as to whether there is an intertextual relationship between the two passages. The possibility that Callimachus alludes to Apollonius can be ruled out; in expounding his views on poetry, Callimachus would have little reason to allude to Medea's flight in *Argonautica* 4. However, as we shall see repeatedly, Apollonius uses the term οἶμος as a self-reflective reference to his poetry, and so an allusion to the Callimachean passage, which is specifically about poetry, would help to establish the polysemy of οἶμος in *Argonautica* 4. However, a great obstacle to viewing intertextuality is the problem of chronology. The Callimachean passage, part of the second prologue to the *Aetia*, cannot be securely dated as prior to the *Argonautica*, and there are some reasons for believing it was written later than Apollonius' epic.[28] However, the metaphor of the narrow or pure road used to describe finely-wrought poetry is not confined to this one Callimachean passage. Callimachus also uses it in an epigram to praise a certain Theaetetus' poetry: Ἦλθε Θεαίτητος καθαρὴν ὁδόν [Theaetetus went along the pure road] (*Epigram* 7; cf. *Epigram* 28). The image became something of a commonplace.[29] Apollonius, therefore, is probably evoking a common metaphor rather than this specific Callimachean passage.[30]

The second appearance of οἶμος in *Argonautica* 4 occurs after Argus has advised the Argonauts on the best route to take home. Hera endorses his suggestion with a celestial portent:

> Ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη. Τοῖσιν δὲ θεὰ τέρας ἐγγυάλιξεν
> αἴσιον, ᾧ καὶ πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν ἰδόντες
> στέλλεσθαι τήνδ' οἶμον· ἐπιπρὸ γὰρ ὁλκὸς ἐτύχθη
> οὐρανίης ἀκτῖνος, ὅπῃ καὶ ἀμεύσιμον ἦεν.
>
> *Argonautica* 4.294-297

> [So he spoke. And on them the goddess bestowed a fateful portent, because of which, once they saw it, everyone approved following

28. This problem is discussed more extensively on pp. 121-128 below.
29. For other examples, see Pfeiffer's apparatus to *Aetia* ffr. 1.26-27.
30. Cf. DeForest 1994.45 on ἀτραπός at 1.546.

this path, for a trail of celestial light appeared where they might pass.]

Hera is not specifically named but is called merely θεά, "goddess." As a rule, Apollonius does not refer to a goddess as simply θεά without her proper name or an epithet, or outside of an immediate context that makes the goddess's identity obvious, unless he is referring to the Muses (e.g., 4.1, 4.552). Since θεά appearing alone normally designates the Muse, the ambiguity here invites an association between Hera, the goddess who helps the Argonauts along their οἶμος, and the Muse, the goddess who helps the poet complete his οἴμη.[31] In Chapter 3, we noted that Apollonius made associations between poetic composition and sea travel by exploiting two aspects of Apollo's cult: Apollo as god of poetry and as a protector of sailors. The poet has in Apollo a ready-made set of associations on which to build his own assimilation of his poetry and the Argonauts' voyage. The Muses are not such versatile deities, and so Apollonius must employ subtleties of language and the like to make the connection between the Muses and deities such as Hera who aid the Argonauts' progress.[32]

The next passage to include οἶμος is the one discussed in Chapter 3, where Hera prevents the Argonauts from entering the stream of Ocean: Ἂψ δὲ παλιντροπόωντο θεᾶς ὕπο, καί ῥ' ἐνόησαν / τὴν οἶμον τῇ πέρ τε καὶ ἔπλετο νόστος ἰοῦσι (4.643-644). Hesiod, Pindar, Antimachus,

31. Cf., however, Feeney 1991.87-89.

32. In the last line quoted above, it is possible to detect three wordplays that further evoke the Muses. The adjective οὐρανίης recalls the name of one of the Muses, Οὐρανίη. (Greek poets were especially fond of making plays on proper names. For such wordplay in epinician, see Lefkowitz 1969.59-60, and see n.17 for further bibliography. McCartney 1918-1919 is mostly about humorous and lampooning wordplay made by Latin authors, but on pp. 348-349, he gives examples of less jocular wordplays from Homer and the tragedians.) Less obviously, ὄπῃ recalls Hesiod's wordplay on the name of Καλλιόπη at *Theogony* 68, ὀπὶ καλῇ. (A difference in aspiration presented no obstacle for a Greek wishing to make wordplays or derive etymologies. Plato in the *Cratylus* derives Οὐρανός from ὁράω [396b], Ἑστία from ἐσσία [401c], and Ἥρα from ἐρατή or ἀήρ [404c]. How seriously Plato intends these etymologies to be taken is questionable, but they at least imply that aspiration was unimportant for such wordplay.) Finally, a play on Μοῦσα is embedded in the extremely unusual word ἀμεύσιμον, attested only here in extant Greek. (The adjective is derived from ἀμεύομαι, Doric for ἀμείβομαι See Mooney 1912 on 4.297.) To appreciate the wordplay, one should think of the α here as α-copulative (Smyth 1920.§885.4; cf. Plato's derivation of "Apollo" in *Cratylus* 405c), so that the play implies that the Argonauts were directed to follow a path that was "accompanied by the Muses." By themselves, these wordplays would not be striking enough to evoke thought of the Muses, but all together in such close proximity, they seem to be intentional plays that invite the association of the Argonaut's οἶμος with the poet's οἴμη.

and Hecataeus all had the Argonauts enter the Ocean at some point in their travels, and so Apollonius' choice to have them follow a different route comes as something of a surprise. This passage is therefore an especially appropriate place for the poet to call attention to the "path of song" he has chosen. As in the previously examined passage, the indefinite θεά encourages one to think of the Muse. Also significant is the term νόστος, which implies not only a literal homecoming but a poem celebrating that return. Comparable is *Odyssey* 1.326, which describes Phemius performing before the suitors: ὁ δ' Ἀχαιῶν νόστον ἄειδε. Gregory Nagy observes, "the word *nóstos* here designates not only the homecoming of the Achaeans but also the epic tradition that told about their homecoming."[33]

Apollonius associates the Muses with other goddesses besides Hera. When Thetis agrees to grant Hera's request to help the *Argo* through the Wandering Rocks, the Nereid says:

> Ἀλλ' ὥρη δολιχήν τε καὶ ἄσπετον οἶμον ὁδεύειν,
> ὄφρα κασιγνήτας μετελεύσομαι αἵ μοι ἀρωγοὶ
> ἔσσονται, καὶ νηὸς ὅθι πρυμνήσι' ἀνῆπται,
> ὡς κεν ὑπηῷοι μνησαίατο νόστον ἑλέσθαι.
>
> *Argonautica* 4.838-841
>
> [But now it is time to travel an immeasurably long path; I will go to my sisters who will be a help to me, and to where the ships' hawsers are tied, so that in the morning the heroes might remember to seize their homecoming.]

The language Apollonius places in Thetis' mouth calls attention to the fact that the Argonauts are not only part of an expedition, but part of an expedition that is the subject of a poem. The δολιχήν οἶμον recalls the proem's Νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην / ἡρώων δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἁλὸς (1.20-21; cf. 4.586). Likewise, μνησαίατο νόστον ἑλέσθαι contains a faint echo of the invocation's παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν / μνήσομαι and makes an even stronger self-conscious reference to the poetry itself with the words νόστον ἑλέσθαι. This is a very unusual expression, and Hermann Fränkel actually emends it to μνησαίατο ναυτίλλεσθαι in order to remove the oddity. However, this emendation does Apollonius injustice. Not only is it unnecessary,[34]

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33. Nagy 1979.96. §6.n.2.

34. Cf. Livrea 248 on 4.841: "La congettura di Fränkel ναυτίλλεσθαι (o ναυτίλασθαι) è ingiustificata, e non trova alcuna difesa nello scolio."

but it distorts the evocation of poetry implied by the language; the emendation removes the word νόστος, which we earlier saw coupled with οἶμος, as here, to link the Argonauts' voyage with the poet's composition of his epic. This Apollonian passage is another instance of the narrator describing his characters' activity with vocabulary equally applicable to his own poetic activity.

Just as the Argonauts assume the role of the poet in recalling their *nostos*, Thetis assumes the role of Muse in prompting their act of recollection. In several respects, Thetis and the Nereids are easily associated with the Muses; Apollonius has more to work with than when he assimilates the Muses to Hera. Like the Muses, the Nereids are all divine sisters. The lineage of the two groups of goddesses, as given by Hesiod, is also similar. The Muses are the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (*Theogony* 53-54); they get their power to preserve the memory of great deeds from their mother. The Nereids are the children of two marine deities: Doris, the daughter of Oceanus, and Nereus, the son of Pontus (*Theogony* 240-242). Nereus is, however, not merely a water god, but he is described as ἀψευδὴς and ἀληθής (*Theogony* 233); he possesses the same sort of powers of truthfulness and memory as the Muses and their mother.[35] That the Nereids inherited these intellectual powers, and not merely the marine aspect of their parents, is clear from some of their names, which contain the same root as νοῦς, "mind": Προνόη, Πουλυνόη, Ἀυτονόη (*Theogony* 161, 194, 258). [36] Similarly, the names Λειαγόρη and Εὐαγόρη (*Theogony* 257) imply a facility for speaking (ἀγορέω), and so in this, too, the Nereids resemble the Muses.[37] Those members of Apollonius' audience especially well versed in Hesiod would recall that one of the Nereids is named "Erato" (*Theogony* 246), homonymous with the only Muse Apollonius invokes by name. Another way the Nereids and Muses are connected is that they appeared together in the Trojan Cycle, when both came to mourn the dead Achilles: Μοῦσαι δὲ θοῶς Ἑλικῶνα λιποῦσαι / ἦλυθον ἄλγος ἐνὶ στέρνοισιν ἔχουσαι / ἀρνύμεναι

35. Cf. Nereus' son Glaucus in Euripides' *Orestes* 364 (προφήτης Γλαῦκος, ἀψευδὴς θεός) and Glaucus' prophetic role in the *Argonautica* itself, where he rises from the sea to inform the Argonauts of Heracles' fate (1.1310-1325). Indeed, Apollonius calls him ὑποφήτης, as he calls the Muses ὑποφήτορες , thus sustaining the association between poetry and prophecy so prominent in this epic.

36. Deichgräber 1965.192-194; Barringer 1995.7.

37. West 1966 on *Theogony* 257 connects these names with a different semantic range of the root, referring to *agora* as a place for trading rather than speaking: "The Nereids protect ships, and so perhaps by an extension assist successful trading."

τιμὴν ἑλικώπιδι Νρηίνῃ. This comes from the late epic poet Quintus Smyrnaeus (3.594-596), but we know from Proclus' summary that the Muses and Nereids also joined in lamentation in a cyclic poem, the *Aethiopis*.[38]

The Nereids, like the Muses, act as guides for the mortals they take under their care. While the Muses are invoked by poets for help in completing their poetic journey, numerous literary references show that the Nereids were often invoked to help seafarers achieve a safe voyage (Sappho 5; Euripides *Helen* 1584-1587; Herodotus 7.191; *Orphic Hymn* 74; *Anthologia Palatina* 6.349).[39] The role the Nereids play in the *Argonautica*, guiding the *Argo* through the wandering rocks, is traditional. Thetis assumes the role of pilot for the Argonauts: Θέτις δ' ἴθυνε κέλευθον (4.938). Thetis' activity here and the language used to describe it are reminiscent of the Bacchylidean invocation mentioned in Chapter 3, where the poet likens his Muse to a pilot: Ὡσεὶ κυβερνήτας σοφός, ὑμνοάνασσ' εὔθυνε Κλειοῖ νῦν φρένας ἀμετέρας (12.1-4). Apollonius may have had the Bacchylidean passage in mind, but the correspondences are not striking enough to assure the presence of intertextuality. Calling to mind the invocation of Bacchylides does, nevertheless, strengthen the association between οἶμος and οἴμη.[40]

Apollonius is not the only Hellenistic poet to associate the Muses with other female deities. Most notably, Theocritus assigns the Muses' powers of inspiration to Nymphs. In the *Thalysia*, Simichidas declares that the Nymphs taught him poetry: πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα / Νύμφαι κήμὲ δίδαξαν ἀν' ὥρεα βουκολέοντα / ἐσθλά (7.91-93). A. S. F. Gow says of this line, "it would be going too far to say that [Theocritus] means the Muses, but the relationship of Muse and Nymph is close and not

38. Davies 1988.47, lines 26-28. Cf. Pindar *Isthmian* 8.57-58, where the Muses, though not the Nereids, are mentioned as being at Achilles' funeral. For more on the Muses and Nereids in Pindar, see Duchemin 1955.46-47. For more on the Nereids and Achilles in both literature and art, see Barringer 1995.17-58.

39. Cf. Barringer 1995.55-57.

40. There is one further reason why Apollonius may have been interested in this invocation: Bacchylides invokes *Kleiô* because her name is etymologically connected with *kleos* (Harriott 1969.17) and she is therefore the Muse particularly suited for epinician, the function of which genre is to bestow fame on its *laudandus* and the poet. This careful consideration of the relevance of a Muse's name for the type of poetry she inspires is much like Apollonius' choice of Erato for the invocation of *Argonautica* 3; the Bacchylidean passage also seems to be the only extant pre-Apollonian example of this type of attention paid to the Muse's name in an actual invocation of a poem (but cf. Plato *Phaedrus* 237a, 259c-d).

precisely definable."[41] The association is especially strong in the lines quoted; the detail that Simichidas encountered the Nymphs while tending his herds in the mountains clearly recalls Hesiod's famous encounter with the Muses in the *Theogony*. The same episode in Hesiod is alluded to again later in the *Thalysia*, when Lycidas presents Simichidas with a staff (7.128), as the Muses presented Hesiod with a staff of laurel. The ancient scholiast actually glosses Νύμφαι as Μοῦσαι. The Nymphs' function as Muses is also an important element in Theocritus' first *Idyll*, as has been demonstrated by Stephen Walker.[42]

Especially relevant for the function of the Nereids in the *Argonautica* is the Hellenistic association of Water Nymphs with the Muses. This association was probably encouraged by the development of water symbolism to describe poetic inspiration,[43] the most famous instance of which comes from the mouth of Apollo at the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*. Water goddesses as inspirers of poets are familiar from Latin poets: Livius Andronicus identifies the Greek Muses with the Roman Camenae, who were water goddesses,[44] and Virgil appeals to the water goddess Arethusa at the start of *Eclogue* 10. Arethusa also makes an appearance as an inspiring deity in the Greek tradition; in the *Epitaph for Bion*, the poet contrasts Bion with Homer, and makes extensive use of water imagery. It is conventional to refer to the inspiration of poets by saying that the Muses love them: Μοῦσ[α] . . . φίλησε δὲ φῦλον ἀοιδῶν (*Odyssey* 8.481); τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε (of Demodocus, *Odyssey* 8.63; cf. *Theogony* 95-96 = *Homeric Hymn* 25.4-5; Callimachus frr. 1.2, 37-38; Theocritus 1.141, 5.80, 7.95). Here, Homer and Bion are said to be loved not by the Muses but by springs of water:

> ἀμφότεροι παγαῖς πεφιλημένοι· ὃς μὲν ἔπινε
> Παγασίδος κράνας, ὃ δ' ἔχεν πόμα τᾶς 'Αρεθοίσας.

41. Gow 1950.vol 2, 155 on 7.92. Cf. Theocritus 1.12, 1.141, 4.29, 5.149. For an extensive list of parallels between Nymphs and Muses, see Roscher 1884-1890.vol.3, 518-519; cf. Plato's use of the Nymphs as inspiring deities in the *Phaedrus*, as when Socrates asks Phaedrus, ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν Νυμφῶν ... σαφῶς ἐνθουσιάσω; (241e). Nymphs were also credited with inspiring the oracular figure Bakis. Pausanias 4.27.4 10.12.11; cf. Aristophanes *Peace* 1070-1071. On Bakis, see Nagy 1990a.170-173.

42. Walker 1980.41-43.

43. For water as a symbol of poetic inspiration, see Kambylis 1965.23-30.

44. Duchemin 1955.51-53 cites evidence that the Greek Muses may also have been at one time closely associated with water.

χῶ μὲν Τυνδαρέοιο καλὰν ἄεισε θύγατρα
καὶ Θέτιδος μέγαν υἱα καὶ Ἀτρείδαν Μενέλαον,
κεῖνος δ' οὐ πολέμους , οὐ δάκρυα, Πᾶνα δ' ἔμελπε.

Epitaph for Bion 76-80

[Both were beloved by springs; the one drank of the fountain of Pagasis, the other had the draught of Arethusa. One sang of the beautiful daughter of Tyndareus and the great son of Thetis and Menelaus Atreides, but the other sang not of wars, not of tears, but of Pan.]

The poet declines to name Achilles with a standard patronymic and instead refers to him by his mother, the Nereid Thetis. By sustaining the imagery of water goddesses and inserting it into the description of Homer's poetry, the poet portrays the source of Homer's inspiration at work within his epic; he takes advantage of the Muse-like qualities of Thetis and the Nereids as Apollonius does more extensively in the *Argonautica*.

The Theocritean association of Nymphs with Muses is a particularly close parallel to another group of goddesses Apollonius links with the Muses, the Nymphs of Libya.[45] When the Argonauts have become hopelessly stranded in Libya and have all moved off by themselves to grieve alone on the sand, Libyan Nymphs make an epiphany to the despondent Jason and address him with these words:

Κάμμορε, τίπτ' ἐπὶ τόσσον ἀμηχανίῃ βεβόλησαι;
Ἴδμεν ἐποιχομένους χρύσεον δέρος· ἴδμεν ἕκαστα
ὑμετέρων καμάτων, ὅσ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς ὅσσα τ' ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
πλαζόμενοι κατὰ πόντον ὑπέρβια ἔργα κάμεσθε.

Argonautica 4.1318-1321

[Unlucky one, why are you so struck with helplessness? We know about you going after the golden fleece. We know each and every one of your sufferings, all the overwhelming tasks you toiled at as you wandered over land and flowing sea.]

The repetition of ἴδμεν recalls the words spoken by the Muses to Hesiod in the famous passage describing his encounter with the goddesses: ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, / ἴδμεν δ', εὖτ'

45. Cf. Feeney 1991.92.

ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι (*Theogony* 27-28).[46] The Libyan Nymphs begin their address in a condescending tone, again like the Hesiodic Muses: ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἷον [rustic shepherds, shameful, only bellies] (*Theogony* 26). The general atmosphere is also similar: female deities appearing to one person isolated in the wilderness.[47] Because Hesiod's experience with the Muses was a celebrated passage even in antiquity—this is the same scene that, we noted, Theocritus adapted in the *Thalysia* and that was the model for the original proem to Callimachus' *Aetia* (fr. 2)—the allusions here are unmistakable.[48] In addition, Apollonius prepares his audience for the allusions a few lines earlier, by referring to the birth of Athena (4.1310-1311), a story reminiscent of the divine births in the *Theogony*.

In addition to these Hesiodic echoes, Apollonius employs, in the story of the Libyan Nymphs, imagery and vocabulary he uses elsewhere within the *Argonautica* in connection with poetry and divine inspiration. When the Nymphs make their epiphany, they pull back the cloak that Jason has used to cover his head; the image of veiling one's face is one we have seen consistently used in passages assimilating the action of the poem with poetic composition. After the Nymphs disappear, Jason exclaims, Ἵλατ' ἐρημονόμοι κυδραὶ θεαί. . . . ἦ μὲν ἑταίρους / εἰς ἓν ἀγειράμενους μυθήσομαι [Be gracious, noble goddesses who haunt the desert; . . . I will collect my comrades and tell them (what you said)] (4.1333-1335). As we have observed, Apollonius uses imperatives of ἵλημι or related words, normally addressed to inspiring deities in the *Argonautica* (e.g., 4.984: ἵλατε, Μοῦσαι), to assimilate the narrator with the characters.[49] This and Jason's declaration μυθήσομαι, which is standard vocabulary for an invocation (cf. 1.20; *Iliad* 2.488), place Jason in the role of a poet. Livrea

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46. Cf. *Iliad* 2.485-486: ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα, ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν [For you are goddesses, you are there, you know everything, but we only hear the fame of these things and know nothing].

47. Cf. Thetis, another female deity assuming the role of Muse, appearing to Peleus alone when giving information on how the Argonauts are to achieve their *nostos* (4.854-855).

48. We also know, from one of Hesiod's scholiasts (see Di Gregorio 1975.7), that Apollonius had his own opinions about the state of the text of this very passage. Pfeiffer 1968.144 concludes that the scholiast is referring to the lost work that Apollonius devoted to Hesiodic questions. Hunter 1993.126 states that the Libyan Nymphs are modeled on the Sirens of *Odyssey* 12.189-190. Such a conflation of models would be typically Alexandrian, and it also would be typically Apollonian to allude to both the beneficial and the destructive aspects of poetry.

49. Cf. pp. 30-31 above.

notes that Jason's function as intermediary between the Nymphs and the other heroes casts him as ὑποφήτης, and compares this with Apollonius' self-description as ὑπακουὸς Πιερίδων (4.1381-1382).[50] Jason's role in carrying back the message of the Hesperides also resembles that of the θεωρός, a person officially delegated by a polis to bring back the message of the Delphic oracle, and a figure upon whom Greek poets sometimes fashioned themselves, as well as προφήτης.[51]

The parallels that Apollonius establishes between the narrator and his characters form a definite pattern in the development of the *Argonautica* and support the epic's overall structure. Throughout the epic, the deity whom the poet chooses to invoke and the manner in which he invokes that divinity reflect the current situation of his characters. The first invocation, which serves Books 1 and 2, is addressed to Apollo. In these two books, Apollo is an important figure for the Argonauts; he often receives prayers and sacrifices from the heroes, and his divinity is strongly felt as their guide. His presence sometimes establishes itself through an intermediary, such as Phineus, whose prophetic power is drawn from Phoebus. The god even makes a physical epiphany before the Argonauts as he passes from Lycia to Hyperborea (2.674-685).

Some have read Apollo's departure for Hyperborea as indicating his total removal from the action and his complete indifference to the affairs of the Argonauts.[52] This interpretation, however, is contradicted not only elsewhere in the epic, where Apollo's concern for the Argonauts is obvious,[53] but also within this very passage; after Orpheus makes a prayer to the god, Phoebus provides the Argonauts with game for feasting (2.698). Apollo's epiphany here is a sign of his benevolence.[54] Nevertheless, although Apollo's passage to the land of the Hyperboreans does not indicate indifference toward the Argonauts, it does mark his temporary withdrawal into the background. The Argonauts, when Apollo passes before them, are getting close to Colchis, where the deity whose help they will most

50. Livrea 388-389 on 4.1381. Livrea also notes the allusions to Hesiod in the Libyan episode. Ibid.380-381 on 4.1347.

51. See Nagy 1990a.164-166; cf. pp. 20-21 above.

52. Blumberg 1931.43: "[Apollo] will nichts von den Helden." DeForest 1994.82 cites as parallels the visits of Zeus and Poseidon among the Ethiopians (*Iliad* 2.423-427; *Odyssey* 1.19-26), which remove the gods from the sphere of action.

53. Cf. 4.1701-1710, where Apollo responds immediately to Jason's pleas for help.

54. Cf. Lawall 1966.160-161; Hunter 1986.50-54. Feeney 1991.75-77 appreciates the complexity of this passage.

need is Aphrodite, not Apollo. Phineus has already told them this explicitly: ἀλλά, φίλοι, φράζεσθε θεᾶς δολόεσσαν ἀρωγὴν / Κύπριδος· ἐν γὰρ τῇ κλυτὰ πείρατα κεῖται ἀέθλων [But, friends, concentrate on the crafty help of the goddess Cypris—on her depends the glorious achievement of these labors] (2.423-424). Apollo is not a deity suitable to guide the Argonauts concerning matters of the heart, and so his departure for Hyperborea anticipates his irrelevance for the love story of Jason and Medea coming up in Book 3. At the same time, his departure looks ahead to the invocation of Book 3, which is addressed not to Apollo, but to Erato, a Muse with many of the same attributes as Aphrodite. This transition from Phoebus to the Muses is further anticipated soon after Apollo's departure to Hyperborea, when the poet invokes the Muses for the first time since the poem's proem (2.844-845).

The Argonauts' decision to entrust the success of their mission to Medea in Book 3 contrasts sharply with their actions in the first two books. There, they confront dangers, such as the Giants in Cyzicus, the Bebrycian king Amycus, and the Cyanean Rocks, in a manner suitable for a typical Homeric—perhaps it is better to say Iliadic—hero, by employing their own strengths and abilities. They receive aid only from male figures, such as Phineus, who has strong connections with Apollo.[55] True, Athena does help them through the Cyanean Rocks, but she is the most masculine of goddesses, and even in Homer she regularly helps warriors.[56] The poet also stresses the effort the heroes exert themselves in order to pass through the dangerous strait (2.588-592). In contrast, in Book 3, most of the Argonauts do nothing at all, but merely stand by and watch Jason helped by the Colchian princess. This change in their way of operating is underscored by Idas' indignant complaints that they have entrusted their success to women (3.556-566). The Argonauts' dependence on Medea is paralleled in Olympus by the elaborate efforts of the goddesses Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite to ensure their safety. All this, in turn, is mirrored by the poet's appeal to the Muse, Erato, at the book's start.

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55. They receive a certain type of assistance from the women of Lemnos, but this delays, rather than furthers, their progress toward Colchis.

56. Cf. Athena's words in Aeschylus *Eumenides* 736-738: μήτηρ γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶν ἥ μ' ἐγείνατο, / τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα, πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν, / ἅπαντι θυμῷ [There is no mother who bore me, but I cherish the male in everything—short of marriage—with all my heart].

The pattern continues into Book 4, where the poet portrays the narrator as especially dependent on the Muses,[57] and the Argonauts are repeatedly helped by a wide array of female figures: Circe, the Nereids, Arete, the Libyan Nymphs, and finally the Hesperides. The Nereids' guidance of the Argonauts through the Wandering Rocks forms a ring composition with the heroes' passage through the Cyanean Rocks in Book 2, but also provides a sharp contrast with that passage. Although Athena gives them a final shove through the Cyanean Rocks, the Argonauts succeed mainly by means of their own strength and the skill of Tiphys. As they pass through the Wandering Rocks, however, the Argonauts' role is entirely passive; the Nereids pass the *Argo* about as young girls toss a ball (4.948-950).[58] The likening of the *Argo* and its crew to an inanimate ball in this passage indicates how little the Argonauts contribute to the navigation.[59] They surrender control of the *Argo* much as Apollonius surrendered control of his narrative to the Muse in his invocation at the beginning of this book.

The Hesperides are also female divinities who succor the Argonauts, and the poet assimilates them, like the Nereids and the Libyan Nymphs, to the Muses. The Hesperides are sisters who sing (4.1398-1399) and Orpheus addresses them with ἴλατε (4.141), so often used in addressing inspiring gods elsewhere. Moreover, they help the Argonauts by showing them a source of water, which is a common symbol for poetic inspiration. However, in the Hesperides passage, the poet begins to engineer Apollo's reentry into the poem. One of the Hesperides is named *Aiglê* (4.1428),[60] and this name adumbrates the

57. Cf. Hunter 1987.134, 1993.105; Feeney 1991.90-91.

58. Vian 3.41; Byre 1991.224.

59. Händel 1954.92 remarks, "die Helden können die Hände in den Schoss legen." Cf. ibid.82-92, where Händel discusses the contrast between the realistic seamanship the Argonauts practice on the outward voyage and the fabulous help they receive on the return trip; he believes Apollonius does this in order to achieve variation in his treatment of the subject of seafaring.

60. Apollonius did not invent this name for one of the Hesperides (the name appears in the Hesiodic tradition, fr. 147 Merkelbach-West), but he gives her prominence; *Aiglê* is the one who addresses the Argonauts. For more on the names of the Hesperides, see Livrea 403. Virgil again shows that he recognized Apollonius' self-conscious references to his own poetic activity. In *Eclogue* 6, boys bind Silenus in order to force him to perform a song, the sort of poem within a poem common in pastoral. They are encouraged to commit this bold deed by the Nymph Aegle ("addit se sociam timidisque supervenit Aegle," 6.20), the latinized version of *Aiglê*. Aegle is, like a Muse, responsible for the production of song. Virgil's choice of the name "Aegle," which has no

reappearance of Apollo later in the poem, where he makes an epiphany as Apollo *Aiglêtês* (4.1716).

This foreshadowing of Apollo's return is recognizable only upon coming to the passage describing Apollo *Aiglêtês*, yet events occurring immediately after the Argonauts' encounter with the Hesperides strongly bring Apollo's long absence to mind. These events are the deaths of Canthus and Mopsus, which occur in rapid succession. Canthus dies at the hands of the Libyan Caphaurus (4.1485–1501), who, we are told, was a grandson of Apollo. The mention of Apollo in such a negative context is disturbing, and makes one wonder whether Phoebus has indeed abandoned the Argonauts.[61] The god's absence is felt even more strongly when Mopsus dies of a snakebite, since Apollonius emphasizes the strength of the serpent's venom in this way:

> ἀλλ' ᾧ κεν τὰ πρῶτα μελάγχιμον ἰὸν ἐνείη
> ζωόντων, ὅσα γαῖα φερέσβιος ἔμπνοα βόσκει,
> οὐδ' ὁπόσον πήχυιον ἐς Ἄιδα γίνεται οἶμος,
> οὐδ' εἰ Παιήων -- εἴ μοι θέμις ἀμφαδὸν εἰπεῖν --
> φαρμάσσοι, ὅτε μοῦνον ἐνιχρίμψησιν ὀδοῦσιν.
>
> *Argonautica* 4.1508–1512

> [But into whatever living creature the serpent first injects its dark venom, as many breathing creatures as the life-giving earth

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obvious significance within the *Eclogue*, is the Latin poet's way of showing his appreciation for the way Apollonius associates female deities with the Muses in *Argonautica* 4. At the start of this poem, Virgil acknowledges his debt to Theocritus of Syracuse by referring to "Syracusan verse" (6.1); his debt to Callimachus, with a close translation of *Aetia* fr. 1.23-24 (*Eclogue* 6.4-5). Thus, all three of the greatest Alexandrian poets receive recognition in this poem.

61. This version of Canthus' encounter with Caphaurus seems to be Apollonius' own invention. The scholiast knows of no parallel but remarks that according to Alexander Polyhistor in his *Cretica* (FHG 3, 231), the grandson of Apollo and Acacallis was not Caphaurus but Naxus. Gruppe 1907.562-563 thinks the story that Canthus died in Libya is a Cyrenaic addition to the Argonaut saga, yet he gives only Apollonius as a reference, and in any case, a Cyrenaic origin for Canthus' death in Libya would not rule out the possibility that Apollonius invented Caphaurus' Apolline lineage. Valerius Flaccus diverges from Apollonius in regard to the death of Canthus, having him die in battle in Colchis (6.317-342), even though Valerius echoes Apollonius' account; just as Apollonius begins his account of Canthus' death with an apostrophe to that hero, *Kanthe, se* (4.1485), so Valerius begins his with a similar apostrophe: "te quoque, Canthe" (6.317). It is not surprising that Valerius, who does not, like Apollonius, create an elaborate framework based on Apollo's dual role as guide for the Argonauts and for the poet, would find the strange Apollonian episode unsatisfactory for his version of the myth.

> nourishes, for that one the path to Hades is not even a cubit long, nor could even Paeëon—if it is right for me to speak openly—heal it, once the snake has struck with its teeth.]

The poet's statement that not even Paeëon—that is, Apollo in his role as healer—could save Mopsus' life wistfully calls attention to Apollo's absence.

The brevity of Mopsus' path to death stands in marked contrast to the long and complicated path the Argonauts have been forced to take in trying to achieve their homecoming. Mopsus' death also marks the penultimate occurrence of the word οἶμος in the *Argonautica*, and the use of this semantically loaded term makes his death a statement about the dangers of poetic composition. That Mopsus was a prophet and was taught by Apollo himself (1.65-66) strengthens the association with poetry, since the *Argonautica* repeatedly plays on the traditional connections between prophecy and poetry and on Apollo's dual role as patron deity of both. We are reminded of Mopsus' vocation just before his encounter with the snake, when the poet explains that his prophetic abilities could not help him: ἀδευκέα δ' οὐ φύγεν αἶσαν / μαντοσύναις (4.1503-1504). The mention of Paeëon/Apollo adds further pathos to his hapless disciple's death and alludes to the poet's assignation of Phoebus as the divine inspirer of the poem; Apollo's conspicuous absence comments on the failure of poetry that lacks a powerful source of inspiration.

An earlier passage of Book 4 had brought to the fore the dangerous aspects of poetry and its ability to ensnare and deceive. This is the Argonauts' encounter with the Sirens (4.891-919). These musical monsters have much in common with the Muses, and are in fact the daughters of one of the Muses, Terpsichore (4.896). Like the Muse Erato, they have the power to bewitch mortals (θέλγουσαι, 4.894). However, the Sirens' power is much more sinister. This is hinted at by their connection with the infernal goddess Persephone (4.896-897), and these connections with death are soon made explicit by the explanation that they kill whomever they ensnare with their songs, causing them to waste away.[62] Death by wasting away (τακεδόνι, 4.901) is

62. Their malevolence is, of course, already known from the *Odyssey*. However, by playing off Homer, Apollonius makes them seem even more dangerous. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus and his crew's encounter with the Sirens is the only trial, from their battle with the Cicones to the disastrous affair with Helius' cattle, that they manage to escape unscathed. However, of all the trials the Argonauts face that Apollonius models on the trials of Odysseus, this is the only one in which they actually lose a man, Boutes, from their company. See Dufner 1988.88-89.

exactly the sort of demise the serpent's venom causes Mopsus to experience; after his body is stiffened by numbness and a dark mist covers his eyes, his flesh literally melts from the inside, and his hair, turned to liquid, drips from his skin (4.1524-1531). Greek poetry often uses the metaphor of melting to describe a person wasting away to death, but here Apollonius graphically and grotesquely portrays the sort of death caused by the Sirens' power. The Argonauts (except Boutes, who is saved at the last minute by Aphrodite, 4.917-919) are saved from the Sirens by the Apolline figure of Orpheus, who drowns out the Sirens' voices with his own singing and playing of the lyre, Apollo's instrument. For Mopsus, himself an Apolline figure, there is no help from Apollo, and the poet nervously adds that the god could not save him even if he were present. Mopsus' death is perhaps the most horrifying event in the *Argonautica* and marks the height of the Argonauts' despair. The doubt the poet casts on Phoebus' healing ability also questions whether this god will be able to bring the voyage he initiated, or the poem he inspired to tell about it, to a successful completion. The Argonauts' despair infects the *Argonautica*'s audience, who are now in the midst of the last book, which is already longer than any of the other three, with no resolution of the plot in sight. If readers of *Argonautica* 4 have found it too long and drawn out, it is because they have mistaken Apollonius' attempt to make his characters' experience more immediate for his audience for an inability to handle his material efficiently.

Soon after this darkest hour, however, the resolution begins. When οἶμος appears for the final time, it is again in connection with Apollo, but here it signals a progression from bad to good, from the weary despair felt at Mopsus' appalling death to the excitement felt at recovering a course back to Greece. The following passage begins with a simile describing the *Argo* as its crew seeks a passage out of the Tritonian Lake:

> Ὡς δὲ δράκων σκολιὴν εἰλιγμένος ἔρχεται οἶμον,
> εὖτέ μιν ὀξύτατον θάλπει σέλας ἠελίοιο,
> ῥοίζῳ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κάρη στρέφει, ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε
> σπινθαρύγεσσι πυρὸς ἐναλίγκια μαιμώοντι
> λάμπεται, ὄφρα μυχὸν δὲ διὰ ῥωχμοῖο δύηται·
> ὣς Ἀργὼ λίμνης στόμα ναύπορον ἐξερέουσα
> ἀμφεπόλει δηναιὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον. Αὐτίκα δ' Ὀρφεὺς
> κέκλετ' Ἀπόλλωνος τρίποδα μέγαν ἔκτοθι νηὸς
> δαίμοσιν ἐγγενέταις νόστῳ ἔπι μείλια θέσθαι.

Καὶ τοὶ μὲν Φοίβου κτέρας ἵδρυον ἐν χθονὶ βάντες·
τοῖσιν δ' αἰζηῷ ἐναλίγκιος ἀντεβόλησε
Τρίτων εὐρυβίης.

Argonautica 4.1547-1552

[Just as a twisting snake goes along a crooked path, when the sharpest heat of the sun inflames it and it turns its head now here, now there with a hiss, and as it slithers, its eyes gleam with sparks like fire, until it slips through a gulley into a hole, so the *Argo*, searching for a navigable exit from the lake, wandered about for a long time. Suddenly Orpheus bade the great tripod of Apollo be set up outside the ship as an offering for the native deities toward their homecoming. They disembarked and set up the possession of Phoebus. To them appeared strong Triton in the form of a vigorous youth.]

Οἶμος again appears in connection with a snake, as it had in the episode of Mopsus' death. The simile follows immediately after the conclusion of the episode of Mopsus' death and burial, so the snake imagery is a clear echo of that terrifying passage. Here, however, the image of the snake is used in a positive way. The serpent is not an obstacle to the Argonauts but, as the subject of the simile, is the vehicle for describing the *Argo* and the heroes; the snake imagery assumes a role concordant with, and subordinate to, the Argonauts. This subordination implies that the Argonauts are finally regaining control over their voyage, that they are getting closer to success.[63] This expectation is instantly satisfied, since immediately after the conclusion of the simile, Orpheus gets the idea to dedicate one of Apollo's tripods; this precipitates the epiphany of Triton, who then guides them out of his lake, into the known waters of the Mediterranean. The agency of Apollo in this major success—his was the tripod that brought about Triton's aid—anticipates his physical return into the poem, when he appears to the Argonauts as Apollo *Aiglêtês*.

63. Rose 1982 demonstrates that Virgil's simile in *Aeneid* 5, comparing a Trojan ship to a snake, foreshadows the safe arrival of the Trojans in Italy. She tentatively suggests that the inspiration for Virgil's simile comes from the Apollonian simile discussed here. Ibid.115 n.1. The similarity not only in imagery but also in function—foreshadowing the completion of a sea voyage—makes Virgil's dependence on Apollonius here almost completely certain.

Apollonius increases the suspense leading up to the long-awaited return of Apollo by reporting at some length the desperate and emotional prayer Jason utters to the god:

> Αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων
> χεῖρας ἀνασχόμενος μεγάλῃ ὀπὶ Φοῖβον ἀύτει,
> ῥύσασθαι καλέων· κατὰ δ' ἔρρεεν ἀσχαλόωντι
> δάκρυα. Πολλὰ δὲ Πυθοῖ ὑπέσχετο, πολλὰ δ' Ἀμύκλαις,
> πολλὰ δ' ἐς Ὀρτυγίην ἀπερείσια δῶρα κομίσσειν.
> Λητοΐδη, τύνη δὲ κατ' οὐρανοῦ ἵκεο.
>
> *Argonautica* 4.1701-1706
>
> [But then Jason, holding up his hands, shouted out for Phoebus with a loud voice, calling upon him to help; in his despair, tears ran down his cheeks. Many things he promised to dedicate in Pytho, many things in Amyclae, many countless gifts in Ortygia. Letoides, you came down from the sky.]

The anaphora of πολλά evokes the formulaic language of prayer.[64] Therefore, this description of Jason's words in indirect discourse is an instance where the distinction between the words of the character and the narrator becomes blurred, a phenomenon observed earlier. It is especially effective here, since it implies that Apollo's guidance is desired by both Jason and the poet. Apollonius describes Phoebus' arrival with an apostrophe to the god, and this further encourages the audience to feel that the poet is directly involved in the action, since it momentarily cancels the gap between the temporality of the narrative and the temporality of the composition. The apostrophe also recalls the epic's proem—not only the initial invocation to the god but also the manner in which Apollonius begins to develop his narrative while still addressing Apollo:

> Δηρὸν δ' οὐ μετέπειτα τεὴν κατὰ βάξιν Ἰήσων,
> χειμερίοιο ῥέεθρα κιὼν διὰ ποσσὶν Ἀναύρου,
> ἄλλο μὲν ἐξεσάωσεν ὑπ' ἰλύος, ἄλλο δ' ἔνερθεν
> κάλλιπεν αὖθι πέδιλον ἐνισχόμενον προχοῇσιν.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.8-11

64. Cf. Jason's prayer to Apollo before leaving Pagasae at 1.418-419: ἄλλα δὲ Πυθοῖ, / ἄλλα δ' ἐς Ὀρτυγίην ἀπερείσια δῶρα κομίσσω. Jason's prayers thus form a ring composition, framing the voyage.

[Not long after, in accordance with your oracle, Jason, as he crossed the stream of the wintry Anaurus on foot, saved one sandal from the mud, but left the other one, held by the current, behind.]

The evocation of the *Argonautica*'s beginning is an elegant ring composition, one that further associates the narrator with Jason.

When Phoebus appears near Anaphe, he removes the last obstacle in the Argonauts' progress: the darkness that had enveloped the *Argo* after its departure from Crete. With the return of Apollo to the epic comes the return of the narrator's confidence. He concludes the poem not with any reference to the Muses, or even to Apollo, but with an envoi to the Argonauts themselves, in the place normally reserved for divinities:

Ἴλατ' ἀριστῆες, μακάρων γένος, αἵδε δ' ἀοιδαὶ
εἰς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτεος γλυκερώτεραι εἶεν ἀείδειν
ἀνθρώποις. Ἤδη γὰρ ἐπὶ κλυτὰ πείραθ' ἱκάνω
ὑμετέρων καμάτων, ἐπεὶ οὔ νύ τις ὔμμιν ἄεθλος
αὖτις ἀπ' Αἰγίνηθεν ἀνερχομένοισιν ἐτύχθη,
οὔτ' ἀνέμων ἐριῶλαι ἀνέσταθεν, ἀλλὰ ἕκηλοι
γαῖαν Κεκροπίην παρά τ' Αὐλίδα μετρήσαντες
Εὐβοίης ἔντοσθεν Ὀπούντιά τ' ἄστεα Λοκρῶν,
ἀσπασίως ἀκτὰς Παγασηίδας εἰσαπέβητε.

Argonautica 4.1773-1781

[Be gracious, heroes, race of the blessed gods, and may these songs be sweeter from year to year for men to sing. For now I come to the glorious end of your labors, since there were no more trials for you once you set out from Aegina, nor did gusts of winds oppose you, but having passed peacefully inside Euboea by the Cecropian land and Aulis and the Opuntian cities of the Locrians, you gladly stepped upon the shores of Pagasae.]

The poet speaks as if he himself is an Argonaut: ἱκάνω, "I arrive," is the proper language of a returning hero. This is a clear expression of the assimilation of narrator and character that has been carried on throughout the epic.

The overall pattern, then, for both narrator and characters, is a progression from initial confidence and self-reliance in the first two books, to insecurity and dependence in the third and most of the fourth book, and finally a return to security and confidence at the very end of the epic. This progression is accentuated by the change in

emphasis from Apollo to the Muses and back to Apollo, a pattern that we have already noted replicates the structure of Pindar's *Pythian* 4.[65] The confidence associated with Apollo is a reflection of Apollo's traditional role as a source of oracular truth; the doubt associated with the Muses is a reflection of their ability to provide both truths and fictions seeming to be truths (Hesiod *Theogony* 27-28). In Apollonius, Erato's is potentially an insidious source of inspiration, due to her close affinity with Aphrodite and Eros and their powers of bewitchment.

Throughout the *Argonautica*, but especially in Book 4, Apollonius casts his heroes as poets and himself as hero; he constantly transgresses the boundary between narrator and character. As we have often observed, the vehicle by which the poet crosses this line is his handling of the convention of divine inspiration. The frequency with which he transgresses this line and calls attention to the act of poetic composition makes it clear that this, the nature of inspiration, is a major concern of his, as much as the nature of erotic passion or ideas about the nature of heroism. With this understood, the structure of the *Argonautica* becomes more comprehensible. Some find Book 4 of the *Argonautica* a tedious, excruciating denouement to the love story of Book 3. As we mentioned above, the poet uses the extremely long book to replicate, in the execution of his poetry, the weariness felt by the long-suffering Argonauts. This is, however, not the poet's only motive; for Apollonius, *Argonautica* 4 is the place for him to focus self-consciously on the act of poetic composition, now that the most dramatically engaging parts of the Argonauts' story, the passage through the Cyanean Rocks, the seduction of Medea, Jason's performance of the awful labors, and the attainment of the golden fleece, have been described. *Argonautica* 4 is as much about poetry for poetry's sake as is Theocritus' *Thalysia* or the prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia*.

65. As discussed on pp. 90-92 above.

6

Apollo's Inspiration in Apollonius and Callimachus

Callimachus twice employs the figure of Apollo to expound his literary views: in the second prologue to the *Aetia* (the "Reply to the Telchines") and in his *Hymn to Apollo*. No detailed discussion of the *Argonautica*'s invocations can ignore the possibility that by invoking Apollo in the first line of his epic, Apollonius makes a conscious attempt to align himself with the Callimachean poetic ideals expressed in these two passages, an acknowledgment akin to Virgil's evocation of the Sicilian Theocritus in his invocation to the "Sicelides Musae" (Virgil *Eclogue* 4.1; cf. 6.1, 10.1). It is impossible, however, to establish confidently that the two Callimachean passages predate the *Argonautica*. For this reason, they were not included in this study's discussion of Apollonius' models. The question is best considered in isolation.

Determining the relative chronology of the Alexandrian poets who were active during the third century B.C. is enormously problematic. First, we must be aware that the concept of a specific "publication date" has uncertain significance when dealing with these poets, who were contemporaries gathered together in one place under the patronage of the Ptolemies. They no doubt had some acquaintance with one another's works before they were published in any formal sense. As Anthony Bulloch explains, "Even a long poem such as the *Argonautica* was probably published piece-meal through oral presentation and circulation of 'private copies'. . . . In these circumstances interrelationships between writers who habitually cross-refer and allude to one another are likely to be complex."[1] Besides this initial problem, what evidence we have for chronology is scanty and unreliable. Even carefully argued discussions on

1. Bulloch 1989.47.

chronology must rely mainly on the dubious authority of scholiasts and the biographical tradition (the latter being exceptionally inconsistent with regard to Apollonius), on possible references within the poems to historical events, and on a generous amount of speculation.

What little evidence there is suggests that the "Reply to the Telchines" and the *Hymn to Apollo* came late in Callimachus' career. In the "Reply," Callimachus emphatically refers to his old age (*Aetia* fr. 1.33-38). This second prologue was apparently added much later than the initial publication of the *Aetia*, as a preface not just to that poem but to the entire collection of Callimachus' works.[2] The *Hymn to Apollo* does not have such internal evidence for its approximate date, but the similarity of Apollo's words in this hymn to those he speaks in the "Reply" may indicate a date roughly contemporary with that late work.[3] This is far from conclusive, yet it finds support in the scholiast's statement that the king referred to in the hymn is the third Ptolemy, Euergetes (reigned 246-221 B.C.), and in the view that Callimachus could not have written a poem so celebratory of Cyrene until the reconciliation of Cyrene and Alexandria in 246 B.C.[4]

The evidence thus suggests that both of these passages were among Callimachus' final works. Unfortunately, this does not necessarily entail that they were composed later than the *Argonautica* of his contemporary. (Indeed, one of Apollonius' biographies states that he turned to poetic composition late in life.) The problem is further exacerbated by the evidence that the *Argonautica* underwent a process of revision,[5] thus allowing for the possibility that Callimachus' poems appeared during the interval between the two editions.

Any decisions about the relative chronology must then be subjective and rely heavily on instances where there is a striking similarity between the two poets' works and one author seems to have influenced the other. In Chapter 5, we noted the possibility that Apollonius' use of the phrase στεῖνας οἴμους (4.43) was modeled on Apollo's advice to Callimachus in the *Aetia* prologue to drive along

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2. Pfeiffer 1928.339, 1949.vol. 2, xxxvi; Parsons 1977.49-50.

3. F. Williams 1978.2. Williams maintains, however, that the hymn is impossible to date with any certainty.

4. Fraser 1970.vol. 1, 652-653; cf. Eichgrün 1961.39-51, who also dates the poem based on possible allusions to political developments involving the Ptolemies.

5. Cf. pp. 9-10 above. On the tradition that Apollonius produced two editions of the *Argonautica*, see Wendel 1958.2-3; Fränkel 1964.7-11; Vian 1.xxi-xxiv; Haslam 1978.61-67.

the narrower path, οἶμον στεινοτέρην, but conceded that the similarities were not striking enough to indicate conclusively the presence of intertextuality.

The *Hymn to Apollo* contains another passage, however, that does contain striking similarities to one in the *Argonautica*.[6] At 97-104, Callimachus explains the origin of the ritual cry used in Apollo's worship, ἰὴ ἰή. It derives from the shouts of encouragement the Delphians gave Apollo as he slew the Delphic monster with his bow and arrow: ἴει βέλος, "shoot the arrow":

> . . . τὸν μὲν σὺ κατήναρες ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ
> βάλλων ὠκὺν ὀϊστόν, ἐπηύτησε δὲ λαός·
> "ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον, ἴει βέλος·" εὐθύ σε μήτηρ
> γείνατ' ἀοσσητῆρα· τὸ δ' ἐξέτι κεῖθεν ἀείδῃ.
>
> *Hymn to Apollo* 101-104
>
> [You slew (the monster), sending one swift arrow after another, and the people shouted, "Hië, Hië, Paeëon, shoot the arrow!" Your mother bore you to be a savior right away, and still from that time are you sung of this way.]

A passage of the *Argonautica*, describing the same event, bears a close resemblance to this. Here, not the Delphians but the Corycian Nymphs shout encouragements:

> πολλὰ δὲ Κωρύκιαι Νύμφαι Πλειστοῖο θύγατρες
> θαρσύνεσκον ἔπεσσιν, "ἴη, ἴε" κεκληγυῖαι,
> ἔνθεν δὴ τόδε καλὸν ἐφύμνιον ἔπλετο Φοίβῳ.
>
> *Argonautica* 2.711-713
>
> [Often did the Corycian Nymphs, daughters of Pleistus, encourage with words, having shouted, "Hië, Hië" (Shoot!), whence there came this beautiful refrain for Phoebus.]

The story of Apollo's defeat of the Delphic dragon is a highly traditional one that the composer of a hymn to this god could scarcely

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6. Fraser 1970.vol. 2, 87-88 n.162, suggests another instance of intertextuality between the *Argonautica* and Callimachus' hymn. He sees an echo of *Hymn to Apollo* 106, οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει, in the words spoken by a crow to Mopsus at *Argonautica* 3.932-933: Ἀκλειὴς ὅδε μάντις, ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα παῖδες ἴσασιν / οἷδε νόῳ φράσασθαι. While the talking crow does certainly seem to be modeled on the speaking birds in the *Hecale* (fr. 260), the only connection with the *Hymn to Apollo* is the phrase ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα, hardly a remarkable expression (cf. οὐδ' ὅσα at *Iliad* 9.381, 9.401; Euripides *Alcestis* 970).

omit. It first appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (3.300-374), which set a precedent for later poets composing hymns in honor of Apollo.[7] The appearance of the story of the dragon in Callimachus' hymn is expected, and this would at first imply that Callimachus' treatment is the earlier, it being a necessary element of his hymn that Apollonius rather superfluously adapted for his epic. However, Apollonius' account of Phoebus and the dragon appears in the context of Orpheus' hymn praising the god. Within the epic framework, the context of Apollonius' treatment of this story is as traditional as that of Callimachus.

We can explain the similarities in three ways. First, there could be a direct intertextual relationship between these two passages: either Apollonius modeled his poetry on the Callimachean passage, or vice versa (we cannot tell which).[8] The second possibility is that both Callimachus and Apollonius drew upon traditional elements for their hymnic poetry. This seems unlikely because the correspondences between the two passages are so close. The third possibility was suggested by Pfeiffer (on fr. 88): Callimachus related the story of Phoebus and the dragon within the body of the *Aetia*, and it is this treatment of the story that Apollonius imitated and that Callimachus reworked for the *Hymn to Apollo*. Pfeiffer's argument is based on a scholion to Apollonius (2.705-711b), which states that Callimachus, like Apollonius, named the Delphic dragon Δελφύνης. In the *Hymn to Apollo*, Callimachus does not use this name. Therefore, the scholiast must be referring to the treatment of the dragon story that we know from the diegesis (see frr. 86-89) to have occurred in the *Aetia*.

Pfeiffer's explanation is the most attractive, since it is consonant with the numerous times Apollonius appears to have incorporated passages from the *Aetia* that deal with the Argonaut story.[9] Although there is no hard evidence for assuming the priority of the *Aetia*, the fact that many of the passages where Apollonius' poetry resembles Callimachus' are αἴτια that the epic poet has woven into his narrative

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7. Cf. Euripides *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1245-1259; *Paean Delphicus* 1.18-20 (Powell 1925.141); Limenius *Paean* 26-30 (Powell 1925.149-150). See F. Williams 1978 on Callimachus *Hymn to Apollo* 97-104. The myth itself is discussed in great detail in Fontenrose 1959.

8. Eichgrün 1961.167-171 argues that the *Hymn to Apollo* postdates the *Argonautica* and that Callimachus alludes to Apollonius' epic in this poem; Hunter 1986.56-60 cautiously suggests that Callimachus' hymn has priority.

9. Cf. F. Williams 1978.82 for an interesting discussion of some implications of Pfeiffer's theory.

suggests that the *Aetia* has influenced the *Argonautica*. Moreover, the first book of the *Aetia*, which contains the Argonauts' story, is more likely to have been composed prior to the *Argonautica*; P. J. Parsons has argued persuasively that Callimachus published Books 1 and 2 of the *Aetia* as a young man, and much later added Books 3 and 4, the "Reply to the Telchines," and a new epilogue.[10] Pfeiffer is certain that it was Apollonius who followed Callimachus' treatment of the Argonaut myth, and most share this opinion.[11]

Therefore, if we wish to find Callimachean influence behind the importance of Apollo in the *Argonautica*, the most reasonable place to look for Apollonius' model is neither in the *Hymn to Apollo* nor in the *Aetia* prologue, but in the fragments from *Aetia* 1 that tell the story of the Argonauts. Especially important for this question are the fragments that deal with Apollo's relationship to the Argonauts, such as those wherein Callimachus traces the origin of Apollo's unusual rites on the island of Anaphe to the time he helped the Argonauts escape an impenetrable darkness that enveloped the *Argo*. In the passage below, the Callimachean Jason begs Apollo for help:

ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἀνι]άζων ὃν κέαρ Αἰσονίδης
σοὶ χέρας ἠέρ]ταζεν, Ἰήιε, πολλὰ δ' ἀπείλει
ἐς Πυθὼ πέμ]ψειν, πολλὰ δ' ἐς Ὀρτυγίην,
εἴ κεν ἀμιχθαλόεσσαν ἀπ' ἠέρα νηὸς ἐλάσσῃς·
] ὅτι σήν, Φοῖβε, κατ' αἰσιμίην
πείσματ'] ἔλυσαν ἐκ[λ]ηρώσαντό τ' ἐρετμά
]πικρὸν ἔκοψαν ὕδωρ.

Aetia fr. 18.5-8

[But Aesonides, sick at heart, lifted his hands to you, Phoebus Hiëios, and promised to send many gifts to Pytho, many to Ortygia, if you would drive the gloomy mist from the ship. . . . because it was in accordance with your oracle that they cast off the hawsers and allotted their rowing places . . . and beat the bitter water (with their oars).]

10. Books 3 and 4 may have been at least partly constructed out of earlier poems. See Parsons 1977, especially pp. 49-50.

11. Pfeiffer 1949.vol. 1, 17; cf. Corbato 1955; Eichgrün 1961; Hutchinson 1988.86-96; Clauss 1993.74-79; Hunter 1993.123. Webster 1963.77-78 dissents from the view of the majority, but his account for the way the *Argonautica* served as a model for the *Aetia* is highly speculative.

Apollo answered the prayer and illuminated the Argonauts' way to Anaphe, where the heroes established rites in his honor.

Apollonius describes the same incident in a passage near the end of the *Argonautica*:

> Αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων
> χεῖρας ἀνασχόμενος μεγάλῃ ὀπὶ Φοῖβον ἀύτει,
> ῥύσασθαι καλέων· κατὰ δ' ἔρρεεν ἀσχαλόωντι
> δάκρυα. Πολλὰ δὲ Πυθοῖ ὑπέσχετο, πολλὰ δ' Ἀμύκλαις,
> πολλὰ δ' ἐς Ὀρτυγίην ἀπερείσια δῶρα κομίσσειν.
>
> *Argonautica* 4.1701-1706
>
> [But Jason, lifting up his hands, shouted for Phoebus with a great voice, calling upon him to save them; in his distress, tears ran down his cheeks. He promised to dedicate many things at Pytho, many at Amyclae, and to send countless gifts to Ortygia.]

Clearly one of these passages was written with an eye on the other.[12] Both poets describe the identical scene and include a detail not found in other accounts of the Argonaut story: Callimachus and Apollonius cast the Argonauts' peril in the form of an eerie darkness, while other versions of the myth simply state that the heroes encountered a storm.[13] The language is also strikingly similar in the two poems, most notably in the anaphora of πολλά.[14]

Jason makes another prayer to Apollo earlier in the *Argonautica*. The context of this prayer has nothing to do with the incident at Anaphe, yet the language has much in common with Callimachus' treatment of that story.[15] While still on the beach at Pagasae before the start of the voyage, Jason prays to Apollo, and it is here that he makes the remark, also found in his prayer in the *Aetia*, that Apollo

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12. Corbato 1955.20-21, Eichgrün 1961.128-131, Lefkowitz 1980.17, Hutchinson 1988.87-88, and Hunter 1993.123 all see Apollonius' passage as dependent on Callimachus' treatment.

13. Pfeiffer 1949. vol. 1, 17. Cf. Apollodorus 1.9.26; Conon *FGrH* 26F49. Vian 3.207 on *Argonautica* 4.1698 objects that Apollonius' account differs from Callimachus' in that the former does not make any mention of clouds (*Aetia* fr. 20) or mist (*Aetia* fr. 18.8). Still, in neither account does the darkness seem to be a normal meteorological phenomenon, as in the other versions. Cf. Fränkel 616.

14. Livrea 467 cites another Callimachean parallel in *Hymn* 5.125 and notes that Homer provides precedents; cf. *Iliad* 9.464-466, 9.567-568, 15.314-316, 16.772-774, 17.431; *Odyssey* 3.273-274, 4.230, 22.47. For other passages in the *Argonautica* that seem to recall the Callimachean passage, cf. Vian 3.207 on *Argonautica* 4.1705.

15. Eichgrün 1961.128-131.

should protect the expedition since he was responsible for launching it:

> Κλῦθι, ἄναξ Παγασάς τε πόλιν τ' Αἰσωνίδα ναίων
> ἠμετέροιο τοκῆος ἐπώνυμον, ὅς μοι ὑπέστης
> Πυθοῖ χρειομένῳ ἄνυσιν καὶ πείραθ' ὁδοῖο
> σημανέειν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπαίτιος ἔπλευ ἀέθλων·
> αὐτὸς νῦν ἄγε νῆα σὺν ἀρτεμέεσσιν ἑταίροις
> κεῖσέ τε καὶ παλίνορσον ἐς Ἑλλάδα. σοὶ δ' ἂν ὀπίσσω
> τόσσων ὅσσοι κεν νοστήσομεν ἀγλαὰ ταύρων
> ἱρὰ πάλιν βωμῷ ἐπιθήσομεν· ἄλλα δὲ Πυθοῖ,
> ἄλλα δ' ἐς Ὀρτυγίην ἀπερείσια δῶρα κομίσσω.
>
> *Argonautica* 1.411-419
>
> [Hear me, lord who dwells in Pagasae and the city Aesonis, named after my father, you who, when I consulted your oracle at Pytho, promised me success and guidance to the end of the voyage, since you yourself are responsible for my labors. Now you guide the ship yourself along with my companions, safe and sound, there and back to Hellas. Afterwards, as many of us as return home again will make a sacrifice of bulls at your altar, and I will send you countless gifts, some to Pytho, others to Ortygia.]

The passage further resembles Jason's prayer in the *Aetia* in that it also contains an anaphora—this time ἄλλα is repeated rather than πολλά–that describes the gifts Jason will offer to Apollo in return for his protection.[16] Nevertheless, these similarities still point only to the presence of an intertextual relationship; they do not indicate the priority of either passage.

A difference between the two passages, rather than a similarity, may indicate who imitated whom. Callimachus has Jason remind Apollo of his responsibility to the voyage by saying that the journey was undertaken [according to your oracle, Phoebus] σήν, Φοῖβε, κατ' αἰσιμίην. Apollonius' Jason also refers to Apollo's oracle in the prayer he delivers at Pagasae, yet he goes on to make the point more

16. Cf. Vian 1.251 on *Argonautica* 1.419. Clauss 1993.77-79 suggests that an allusion to Callimachus here would indicate that Apollo accepts Jason's prayer, since it would recall the Callimachean passage where Apollo manifestly responds to a prayer made by Jason.

emphatic with blunter language: αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπαίτιος ἔπλευ ἀέθλων.[17] The word ἐπαίτιος does not appear in the Callimachean fragment and, for metrical reasons, could not have appeared in the lacuna located in the lines discussing his role as instigator of the voyage. Apollonius, by using the word ἐπαίτιος, perhaps makes a reference to his model, the Αἴτια. When Jason reminds Apollo that he was the inspiration for the voyage, Apollonius simultaneously acknowledges that the inspiration for his treatment of the myth came from Callimachus.[18]

Near the beginning of this study, we stated that Apollonius' invocation to Phoebus, Ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, recalls the language of the *Homeric Hymns* and the *Odyssey*'s depiction of Demodocus, yet it may also have a Callimachean resonance. Callimachus introduces the Argonauts' story into the *Aetia* by having the narrator ask the Muses why rude language accompanies sacrifices on the island of Anaphe (fr. 7). Calliope instructs the poet that he must first recall the story of the Argonauts [beginning with how the heroes sailed from the land of Cytaean Aeëtes back to Thessaly] ἄρχμενος ὡς ἥρωες ἀπ' Αἰήταο Κυταίου / αὖτις ἐς ἀρχαίην ἔπλεον Αἰμονίην. What follows is the αἴτιον that Apollonius also relates in *Argonautica* 4.1694-1730.[19] The expression ἄρχμενος ὡς is a favorite of Callimachus; he uses it in the *Hymn to Artemis* (3.4), and once again in what remains of the *Aetia* (fr. 75.56). That we have two occurrences of this phrase in what little is left of the *Aetia* suggests that the work in its entirety probably contained still more instances of it. It would be fitting that a poem whose subject was the origin of things would use such an expression almost as a refrain. Ἄρχμενος ὡς probably had distinctly Callimachean associations in third-century Alexandria.

For our purposes, the first instance mentioned, the one introducing the Argonauts' story, is most important. By beginning his epic with Ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, Apollonius perhaps alludes to the beginning of Callimachus' treatment of the myth in the *Aetia*, and acknowledges his debt to that poet. At the same time, however, he asserts his independence by starting his account not, as does Callimachus, with

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17. Eichgrün 1961.130 sees an echo of Callimachus' σὴν, Φοῖβε, κατ' αἰσιμίην at *Argonautica* 1.423: σὴν διὰ μῆτιν; Hunter 1993.123 detects a similar echo in Apollonius' invocation to Apollo: τεὴν κατὰ βάξιν (1.8).

18. For a fuller discussion of this possibility, see Albis 1995. Cf. Clauss 1993.14-22, who argues that the *Argonautica*'s proem leads its audience "to expect an untraditional epic whose esthetics are Callimachean." That the *Argonautica* is composed according to the Callimachean standards is argued most extensively in DeForest 1994.

19. Cf. p. 46 above.

the *Argo*'s return but with the true beginning of the voyage, Apollo's oracle. Apollonius emphasizes his expansion of Callimachus' version of the myth by placing the story of Apollo *Aiglêtês*, Callimachus' first Argonautic story, near the very end of his epic. By inserting almost his entire epic between his first, brief evocation of Callimachus' treatment of the Argonaut saga and his more extensive reworking of the same Callimachean episode, Apollonius calls attention to the fact that he has treated the greater part of the myth which Callimachus ignored. This is not necessarily a polemical statement about what Apollonius feels is the proper way to handle a myth.[20] However, it may be a way of indicating how he has adapted avant-garde Callimachean poetics for his more conservative epic by giving Callimachean subjects a fuller, more expansive treatment—an expansion reflected in his use of the longer, traditional form ἀρχόμενος rather than Callimachus' rare, shortened form ἄρχμενος.

Apollonius is also much more conservative than Callimachus in his treatment of the conventions of poetic inspiration. In the previous chapter, we noted that in relating the story of Acontius and Cydippe, Callimachus calls attention to the fact that his poetry is the product of research; he cites Xenomedes as his source, explaining that this story was one of the subjects the "old man" had included in his writing tablets (δέλτοις, *Aetia* fr. 75.65).[21] A comparison of Callimachus' treatment of the Acontius and Cydippe story with Apollonius' version of the Medea-Jason romance reflects the disparate way the two poets present their stories and manipulate conventions of inspiration.

The story of Acontius and Cydippe, like all in the *Aetia*, survives only in fragments. Fortunately, these fragments are more substantial than most from this poem, and the gaps can be filled by the prose summary of Aristaenetus.[22] Cydippe and Acontius, who had never met, were both attending a festival on Delos. Acontius fell in love with Cydippe at first sight and contrived to win her with the following stratagem. He inscribed an apple with the words "I swear by Artemis to marry Acontius" and gave it to Cydippe through a servant. She took the apple and read the inscription, which in antiquity usually

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20. I sincerely doubt the once common belief that a quarrel between Apollonius and Callimachus, inspired by conflicting literary aesthetics, can be detected in their poetry. The existence of such a quarrel has been questioned by Bundy 1972, Klein 1975, and Lefkowitz 1980; cf. Hunter 1993.190-195.

21. Cf. pp. 97-98 above.

22. See Hercher 1965.140-142.

meant reading aloud, and thus she unwittingly swore to marry Acontius. The oath had special force, since Cydippe was in the sacred precinct of Artemis when she swore it. At first Cydippe tried to ignore what had happened, but every time her father Ceyx arranged a marriage to another suitor for her, she fell ill before the wedding. These sicknesses were caused by Artemis, who wished the oath sworn within her sacred precinct to be fulfilled. Finally Ceyx consulted the Delphic oracle; Apollo informed him of the situation, and he arranged for the marriage of his daughter to Acontius.

A comparison of this love story with that of Jason and Medea in the *Argonautica* is especially valid because both Apollonius and Callimachus used a common model and it is instructive to see how differently they adapted this same model for their own poetry. That model is Pindar's *Pythian* 4. We have already noted how much Pindar's treatment of the Argonaut myth influenced Apollonius' epic; a Pindaric presence is also obvious in the first lines of the fragment that starts Callimachus' story of Cydippe and Acontius:

> Αὐτὸς Ἔρως ἐδίδαξεν Ἀκόντιον, ὁππότε καλῇ
> ἤθετο Κυδίππῃ παῖς ἐπὶ παρθενικῇ,
> τέχνην -- οὐ γὰρ ὄγ' ἔσκε πολύκροτος -- ὄφρα λέγο[ιτο[23]
> τοῦτο διὰ ζωῆς οὔνομα κουρίδιον.
>
> *Aetia* fr. 67.1-4

> [Love himself taught Acontius to be wise in craft—for he was not clever—when as a boy he fell in love with Cydippe, so that he might choose for himself this name of "wedded husband" for his whole life.]

This clearly recalls Aphrodite's instruction of Jason at *Pythian* 4.216-218: Κυπρογένεια ... λιτάς τ' ἐπαοιδὰς / ἐκδιδάσκεν σοφὸν Αἰσονίδαν / ὄφρα Μηδείας τοκέων ἀφέλοιτ' αἰδῶ [The Cyprus-born goddess taught Jason to be wise in entreaties and enchanting songs, so that he might take away Medea's respect for her parents]. Just as Aphrodite teaches Jason to be σοφός, a term that Pindar uses in connection with poetic skill,[24] Callimachus' Eros teaches Acontius τέχνη, which the poet

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23. This reconstruction, tentatively suggested by Pfeiffer, is not entirely convincing, and the translation is uncertain; see Hopkinson 1988.103. However, for our purposes, it is enough to note that Callimachus has a purpose clause follow the statement that Love taught Acontius, just as Pindar has a purpose clause follow Aphrodite's instruction of Jason.

24. Cf. p. 89 above.

proclaims in the prologue to the *Aetia* (fr. 1.17-18) to be the standard by which one should judge σοφίη, or poetry. Callimachus thus seems to play with affinity between the seductive powers of love and poetry, just as do Pindar and Apollonius.[25] This might be clearer if we possessed more of the story, especially that part where Acontius actually employs his stratagem of the apple on Cydippe.

Expanding on the association between the powers of poetry and passion made by these poets themselves, we might use the manner in which Cydippe and Medea succumb to the seduction of Acontius and Jason as a metaphor for the way in which Callimachus and Apollonius invite their audiences to receive their poetry. In the work of the extremely bookish Callimachus, Acontius and Cydippe first make contact through a piece of writing, the inscribed apple. The future lovers at first have no personal contact, and Acontius is not unlike a typical Hellenistic author, producing written poems that he hopes will enchant a reading audience. Cydippe's first reaction to the words written on the apple is, ironically, not unlike the initial response of many modern readers to Callimachus' poetry: revulsion. At any rate, the apple's powers of seduction are at first refused, and it is only after careful inquiry and consultation of the Delphic oracle that Cydippe surrenders to Acontius. Likewise, Callimachus' poetry is not immediately accessible, but requires careful consideration by an audience trained to appreciate it subtleties and formidable learning.[26]

Jason's seduction of Medea differs substantially from Acontius' courtship of Cydippe. Whereas Cydippe's final acceptance of Acontius is intellectually motivated, consisting first in the realization that she is ineluctably bound to marry him, and secondly that he is a suitable husband (so Apollo tells Ceyx, fr. 75.30-37), Medea's infatuation for Jason and her final surrender to this love are entirely an emotional affair. Medea's seduction involves no reading, and she searches for answers nowhere except in her own heart. The meeting of Jason and Medea occurs in person, and Medea is overwhelmed by the sight of Jason's beauty and the sound of his voice. Medea's passion for Jason is immediately conceived, the enchantment brought about by the direct presence of divine Eros. This is not unlike the situation created when a poet performs orally before his audience: poet and audience are in direct contact, the audience sees and hears its poet and

25. Cf. *Epigram* 28, where Callimachus compares hackneyed poetry to a promiscuous lover.

26. For the self-consciously elitist quality of Callimachus' poetry, see Bassi 1989.

responds immediately to his poetry, and ideally the Muse is present, inspiring the poet and consequently affecting the audience.

Callimachus' bookish poetry presents a bookish love-affair; Apollonius describes a more emotional and spontaneous love story in a poem that he endeavors to present as spontaneously produced under the heady influence of divine inspiration. I am not suggesting that this metaphor was intended by the poets themselves, or that Callimachus and Apollonius, ultimately, are so very different; there are all degrees of bookishness. Apollonius probably composed no more spontaneously than Callimachus, but whereas Callimachus chose to expose his laborious manner of composition, Apollonius affected the aura of an orally performing poet. Certainly this is due not merely to idiosyncracies of the two poets but also to generic constraints. Callimachus produced works highly experimental in their treatment of genre, and consequently his treatment of conventions of divine inspiration is innovative. Apollonius, though he certainly made innovations in his treatment of epic, nevertheless composed in a venerable genre with strong traditions regarding inspiration and with strong ties to its origins in oral culture.[27] Consequently, Apollonius, while still creating a work that conformed to the literary aesthetics of his own age, cast his poem as a more natural outgrowth of the epic tradition, a tradition characterized by performance.

27. It is unfortunate that Apollonius' other poems, which might have provided an instructive contrast, survive only in miserable fragments. For Apollonius' other poetry, cf. Levin 1962.

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